SHIVAJI THE GREAT

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Part IV

Shivaji, The Man and His Work

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A Note on the Author

Dr. Balkrishna came of a Kshatriya family of Multan, in the Punjab. Born in 1882, he spent his boyhood in struggles against mediocrity. For after completing his primary education he was first apprenticed to a jewel-threader and then to a tailor. It appeared as if he would settle down as a tailor when by a fortunate turn of events he found himself in a Middle Vernacular School. He gave the first sign of talents by standing first in the Vernacular Final Examination. Then he joined the Multan High School and passed on to the D. A. V. College, Lahore, from where he took his B. A. degree. Then he joined the Government College, Lahore, and passed his M. A. with high distinction.

During the last part of his College career, he came under the influence of some great Indian political leaders, especially of Lala Lajpatrai, Sardar Ajitsingh and the Honourable Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and in 1908-9 took an active part in politics. But soon after he was drawn more powerfully to the Arya Samaj.

His high place in the M. A. examination would have helped him to a promising career under the Government, but he chose differently. He joined Lala Munshiram (later Swami Shraddhanand) as a worker in the Gurukul, Kangri. Here he spent over ten years as a Professor of Economics and Politics, as Vice-Principal and as Principal and sometimes acted in the place of Swami Shraddhanand as the Governor of the Gurukul University.

In 1919 he went to England and in February 1922 was admitted to the Ph. D. degree of London University. While a student in London, he went on lecturing tours and lectured on Vedic Religion and Economics in London, Oxford, Manchester and other towns in England, Wales and Scotland. The same year he returned to India and in May was appointed Principal of Rajaram College, Kolhapur. He worked in that capacity till his death on the 21st October, 1940. His term of office was distinguished

by the phenomenal growth of the institution. In 1922 it was an Arts College with only 293 pupils on the roll; at the time of his death it was a full-fledged Arts and Science College, teaching post-graduate courses in many subjects, with 920 pupils on its roll. He was also instrumental in developing Kolhapur as an educational centre, the Law and the Teachers' Training Colleges owing their existence to his initiative and efforts. He also worked as Inspector of Secondary Education in Kolhapur from 1926 to 1936.

He was connected with numerous learned societies. He was a Fellow of the Royal Economic Society, of the Royal Statistical Society, and of the Royal Historical Society, London; a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay; a Member of the Econometric Association, U. S. A.; and a fellow of the University of Bombay till shortly before his death.

He was a Member of the Historical Records Commission of the Government of India and the first President of Bombay Presidency Teachers' Conference held at Poona in 1935 and President of the Modern History Section of the History Congress held at Allahabad in 1938.

He also took a leading part in the public life of Kolhapur. From 1924 to 1933 he was President of the Kolhapur Boy Scouts' Association. He was a Member of the Kolhapur Municipality and Kolhapur Ilakha Panchayat for a number of years. He was President of Kolhapur Arya Samaj and of the Educational Boards under it. He was for several years President of the Teachers' Association, Kolhapur.

As a representative of the all-India Arya Samaj organisation he attended the World Fellowship of Faiths in Chicago in 1933-34 and toured in U. S. A. and Europe on his way back. In U. S. A. he gave many lectures on Hindu Religion and Culture in the North Western, Howard, New York and Columbia Universities, to the World Fellowship of Faiths, the Indian Association at Detroit, the American League of India's Freedom and other bodies and was highly honoured by them and other American institutions and

eminent individuals. He delivered an important series of public lectures on political conditions of Europe after his return to Kolhapur.

He was distinguished as a public speaker and lectured in different parts of India too.

As an author he directed his energies to different subjects including Indian Religion and Culture, Economics, Politics and History. His monumental work, on which he devoted a large part of his spare time during his 18 years at Kolhapur, is the History of Shivaji the Great, of about 1650 pages in four volumes, dedicated to the only ruling representative of the noble House of Shivaji the Great, His Late Highness Chhatrapati Shri Rajaram Maharaja of Kolhapur. He wrote and saw through print the concluding pages of the book during the last weeks of his illness. The index given at the end of the last volume was left in manuscript by him. It has been printed after his death.

It was the desire of the Doctor to follow up his history of Shivaji by that of Rajaram, the second son of the founder of the Maratha Empire. He was collecting meterial for the purpose, especially from Dutch sources.

Shortly before he left Gurukul, Kangri, his first wife had died, leaving him a son and three daughters. He married again in 1925 and left five children—four daughters and a son. His first wife belonged to the Punjab and his widow, the undersigned, is from Maharashtra. *

In the publication of Shivaji the Great the author received valuable help and encouragement from His Late Highness Chhatrapati Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur and his Government, from His Late Highness Shri Sayajirao Maharaja of Baroda, from the late Rajasaheb of Mudhol and others, for which I record my sincerest gratitude.

Radhabai Balkrishna.

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* Dr. Balkrishna published his autobiography in Marathi in a serial form in "Kirloskar Masik" Nos. 185, 186 and 187 (June, July and August issues of 1935) from which details of his life are taken.

Works by the late Dr. Balkrishna.

I. On Indian Religion and Culture:—

1. Philosophy of Yajna.
2. Veda, the Word of God.
3. Ancient Polity.
4. Hindu Philosophers on Evolution.

II. On Economics:—

5. Commercial Relations between India and England. (Routledge, London).
6. The Industrial Decline in India.
7. Economics (Hindi).
8. Commercial Survey of Kolhapur.

III. On Politics:—

9. The Indian Constitution.
10. Demands of Democracy.
11. Swarajya.

IV. On History:—

12. Shahji. Shivaji the Great. } 4 vols.
13. Shivaji Album.
14. History of India. (Hindi)
15. „ „ „ (Marathi)

V. The following books were in preparation and some of them were nearing completion:—

1. Vedic Psalms.
2. Shukraniti with notes and explanations.
3. Hindu Economics.
4. The State in Ancient India.
5. From the Counter to the Crown.

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Shivaji
The Man and His Work

CHAPTER I

Personality of Shivaji

1. European envoys— Several distinguished Europeans had interviews with Shivaji, but they were too much engrossed in their immediate concerns. Though they had golden opportunities of talking with Shivaji and closely observing him, yet they did not leave any detailed account of his personality. Stephen Ustick went as an ambassador of the English from Bombay in 1672, Thomas Niccolls in 1673, H. Oxenden in 1674, Samuell Austin, R. Jones and Edw. Austen in 1675, Lieut. Adames and Mr. Mauleverer in 1676, and John Child in 1678. Each of these envoys had interviews with the Raja. Similarly, the chief of the Dutch Factory at Teganapatam carried rich presents to Shivaji in a pompous procession and secured an interview with him in July 1677. The French envoy Sieur Germain from Pondichery visited the Raja on the bank of the Coleroon river in the same month. It is a pity that no sketch of his person is available from these envoys.[1]

2. Personal description— Shivaji is described by Escaliot on the evidence of those who had seen him, to be of medium stature and of excellent proportion. He was active in exercise, possessed quick and piercing eyes, and was whiter than any of his people. He seemed to smile whenever he spoke.[2]

His was a light weight of 140 lbs English or at most 160 lbs Dutch at the time of his coronation in June 1674 at the age of 44 years.[3]

According to Thevenot, Shivaji was small in stature and tawny in complexion. "His eyes are very sharp and fiery, showing a great deal of intelligence. He usually takes one meal a day, and is quite healthy."

1-3. Shivaji Vol. I, Pp. 212, 229, 407, 411-25; II, Pp. 14, 33, 57, 59, 67, 74, 91, 96, 106-7.

One Dutch envoy Abraham Lefeper visited Sh. at Rairi in 1672, Vol. I, p. 305.

Father P. J. d'Orleans describes him as 'a little lively, restless man, but with all his impatience he wanted neither decision nor manly bearing.'

Cosmo Da Guarda has fully confirmed the preceding remarks. " He was not only quick in action but lively in carriage also, for with a clear and fair face, nature had given him the greatest perfections, specially the dark big eyes were so lively that they seemed to dart rays of fire. To these was added a quick, clear and acute intelligence." [2]

3. Portraits of Shivaji — We can form our own ideas on the physique and personality of Shivaji from the several paintings reproduced in these volumes. Manucci had the fullest opportunity to see Shivaji and talk to him in Raja Jaisingh's camp. The picture of Shivaji drawn for him by Pir Muhammad before 1688 should be the most reliable. The one from the Jaipur collection might be contemporary and would have been drawn by order of Raja Jaisingh. It has similarity of dress and features with the painting obtained in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay, but the latter has a dark coloured face which is incorrect on all the evidence produced in the preceding section. In this picture Shivaji is represented in the court dress, while the Jaipur one depicts him in a homely atmosphere.

The portrait from the British Museum and its reproduction given in Orme's Fragments are also contemporary and true to life.

The portrait given in Bernier's Travels is a copy of the one in Valentyn's Oud-en Nieuvo Oost-Indian (1724 A. D.). The latter was obtained at the Mogul court in 1712. They all show him possessing a black beard and moustache, long hair at sides, a flowered chint toga with white ground, a purple silk scarf rich in gold embroidery thrown across the left shoulder, a beautifully worked sash, a Muslim paijama and a stylish pair of embroidered shoes. The gold pagri or turban with a jewelled aigrette, black plume

1. English Records, Vol. II, p. 334.
2. S. N. Sen, Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, pp. 2, 3.

and white pearls is peculiar to Shivaji. He can be easily identified by the shape of his turban. He is holding a very long straight sword, probably the well-known Bhavani in his left hand, and a patta or rapier in his right hand. Then on the left side a dagger is sticking out from the waist. One can easily mark out sharp eyes, a long aquiline nose, a neat and trimly cut beard, and small moustaches covering his upper lip. His face is fair, firm, and awe-inspiring.

"We could descry ability and cunning, and the hardihood and daring of a conspirator against the rights of man—one not easily cowed or alarmed, with a strong faith in himself, and a gift to measure his own capacities, and those of the men who were to be his helpers in his career of aggrandisement. Well worth looking at this man among men; sash across his breast, himself a Star of India, baleful enough, kingly cowl with its tassel of pearls and feathers. No need of a tiara of the diamonds of Golconda for this man, for his eagle eye (on which all contemporaries are as much agreed as on the eye of Burns) outshines them all."[1]

4. **Spartan simplicity** was the most distinguishing feature of Shivaji's life. He cheerfully bore hardships by living in an unostentatious manner with his soldiers. His principles were rigid to an extreme degree. His army was not burdened with families of officers and soldiers; no dancing girls or women, no drinking booths, no wine and other intoxicants were allowed in the camps. In all flying expeditions wherein some town was to be surprised, rapidity of movement was achieved by having no equipage and commissariat department. In the Surat expedition of 1664 we find Shivaji sitting under a tree without any tent. Even in the Karnatic expedition we are told that there were two tents, one for himself and another for his ministers.

In his dress and meals he was abstemious to an extraordinary degree. He contented himself with only one meal a day. Thus he avoided all the Epicurean ways of life which enslaved many princes in every country.

1. J. Douglas, The Book of Bombay, pp. 424-25.

5. **Freedom from drinks**— He led a very austere, stern and sober life. Non-indulgence in drinks and other intoxicants was religiously observed by him. The ancient conquerors like Alexander and Caesar were addicted to hard drinking, even Napoleon was not free from this vice. The Mogul emperors from Baber to Shah Jahan were a prey to excessive drinks and narcotics. But here was a man far above the best generals of the ancient and contemporary world in this respect. He led the life of a saint, and abhorred dissipation of his energy in the pleasures of the flesh. The appreciative note of Montgomery Martin is worthy of record here: "Impartial judges admit that Sevajee possessed qualities which, in an unenlightened Hindoo, may be termed admirable. Prepared for every emergency, peril could not daunt, nor success intoxicate him. Frugal even to parsimony in his habits, courteous and endearing in manner, though passionate in disposition, he continued to the last to move freely about among the people, inspiring them with his own spirit of determined opposition to the Mahomedans. Intent on following every turn and winding of Aurangzeb's snake like policy, he also practised treacherous wiles; but the use of these unworthy weapons, did not detract him from his personal courage. To have seen him charge, was the favourite boast of the troops engaged in the Deccani wars; and his famous sword was preserved and regarded with nothing short of idolatrous veneration.[1]

6. **Respect for women**— While the Mogul Emperors like Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan indulged in sexual excesses and loved Mina Bazars, Shivaji showed an unusual control of his passions. Though he married several wives for political purposes, he led a pure and noble family life. Even in his youth he refused to accept the hand of the captive beauty of Kalyan. He did not allow women in his military camps and even punished his own son Sambhaji for transgressing moral bounds. A high standard of sexual morality was set before his officers, generals, soldiers and the people. Chivalry was always shown to the weaker sex. Women were not to be killed nor made captives of war. Whenever they fell into the hands of

1. R. Montgomery Martin, The Indian Empire, Vol. I, p. 149.

his army, they were treated with respect and honourably kept in custody till they were ransomed by their relatives. People took advantage of the rule of not capturing women by escaping in female dress as was done during the Karanja loot.[1]

The Rai Bagin, one lady general of the Mogul forces, fought against Shivaji like a tigress, but was ultimately defeated and captured. She was, however, released with all honour due to her rank.[2] Similarly, in the Karnatic campaign when the Desain of Belvadi after submission was ill-treated by one of his officers, Shivaji had the latter blinded and interned.[3] Thus in entertaining high ideas regarding women of all sects and religions, he was far above the contemporary princes.

7. Religious devotion— A robber and a monster could not be religiously austere. There are numerous evidences of his deep devotional mind, superstitious awe of gods, genuine respect for saints, and a deep faith in the greatness of the classical epics. His mother was responsible for inspiring the young mind with religious ideals, for creating a love for Hindu classics and for sermons of the saints.

We are told stories of his attendance at Tukaram's sermons at the risk of his life, of renunciation of the world after hearing a discourse of Tukaram, of self-hypnotization which made him his own oracle, of dedicating his life to the service of the god at Shri Shaila and of his resolve of committing suicide there.

He built new temples, repaired old ones, established new gods and goddesses in them, donated large sums for their expenses, made pilgrimage to famous shrines, and revered the holy men of all religions-Hindu, Muslim and Christian.

In his expedition to Barcelore, he made it a point to visit Gokurn. In the Karnatic expedition many old shrines and sacred places were visited by him. Even while his life was in danger and he was pursued by Aurangzeb's soldiers and spies, he did not lose

1-3, Shivaji Vol. I, pp. 283, 333, Vol. II, 264.

the opportunity of visiting the famous holy places of the Hindus from Muttra to Jagannathpuri. Before his coronation, he is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to Chiplun and Pratapgarh, and to be engaged in worshipping the deities and in performing other devotional ceremonies for several days in succession.

His charities to the Bhawani of Pratapgarh, to the famous Math of Ramdas at Chafal, to the Math of Mauni Baba at Patgaon, to the most sacred shrine of Shri Shaila, to Keshav Swami of Hyderabad, and to the Konheri Math are a few instances of the vast donations given by him for revival and development of the Hindu religion. He was consequently conferred the title of "the Protector of cows and Brahmans" which he richly deserves.

For the preservation and development of religion he created a new department under a new minister called Panditrao, while for his family guidance he had distinguished scholars like Balam Bhat. There is an order of the Minister Panditrao Moreshwar dated 19 Feb. 1677 to the Deshmukh to give maintenance allowance to all the Brahmans of the districts of Phonda, Dicholi, Mandangad and Bhivgad whether they belonged to Desha or Karad, Chitpawans, Padye Brahmans and Jyotishis after holding an examination to test their learning.

At the time of his coronation twenty-thousand Brahmans were present at Raigad. All of them were fed for several days and finally were presented gifts. Therefore he was rightly called the "Protector of Brahmans."

His devotion to saints and seers will be shown later on. It will suffice to remark here that he was the cause of renaissance and reformation in the Hindu religion and Hindu society.

8. Shivaji a mystic— Howsoever paradoxical it might appear, it is true that Shiva was a great mystic. In his early career he is said to have taken the resolve to renounce the world after hearing the sermon of saint Tukaram on renunciation. His mother and friends could not dissuade him from his intention to become a

recluse. However, the advice of the saint and the entreaties of the mother induced the youth to give up his resolve. At the end of his career on the march to Madras he visited the magnificent temple of Shri Shaila. There in a fit of devotion and ecstasy he was ready to immolate himself on the altar of the god (Vol. II, p. 233). The Bakhars record that he used to get hypnotic fits wherein he sought the advice of his guardian goddess Bhawani. The words spoken by him during these ecstatic fits were written down by his private secretary Balaji Avaji. In times of crises he used to follow this advice. On many critical occasions such as the invasions of Afzal Khan, Shaista Khan, Jaisingh, or even during his imprisonment at Agra, Shivaji had trances to find out the solution of his difficulties through these intuitions.

It is possible that Shivaji might have been dissimulating to impress his colleagues and subjects with the idea that he was in communion with God whose will was being carried out through his instrumentality. The people came to believe that he was the chosen medium of God, His effective instrument to destroy the Mlechhas. The general impression of his devotions and trances, of his being a favourite medium of God if not His incarnation, won him the veneration of all his officers and subjects. They began to look upon him as a superman, as a favourite of fortune, a man of destiny who had been born to avenge and restore Hinduism.

9. Shivaji a fatalist— His frequent appeal to God proves him to be a fatalist. He blindly followed the advice obtained in the fits of trance. For instance, he gave up himself and his forts to Jaisingh at the dictates of the so-called divine Bhavani. He went to Agra after he had been given an assurance in an ecstatic fit by this protecting goddess. It is stated that his intellect was clouded and he was highly dejected during his imprisonment at Agra, but the goddess again came to his rescue. Thus he has been shown to be working under the spell of a supernatural power by the writers of the Marathi chronicles. This version places him under the supremacy of a controlling power outside himself. A great conqueror like Shiva was a master and not a slave of destiny. There is no mention in

these Bhakars that he ever consulted astrologers on what he should do and should not do. On the other hand, there is European evidence tha he was always cautious to studiously conceal his plans. Here is the impartial testimony of Jonathan Scott. "He planned his schemes wisely and executed them with steadiness. He consulted many on every point but acted according to that advice, which after weighing in his own mind he thought best applicable to his designs. No one was ever acquainted with his determinations but by the success of their execution."

A remarkable confirmation comes from the pen of the historian Scott Waring: "His talent as a soldier places him above the heroes of the East. His schemes comprehended the option of more than one success ; nor did the accomplishment of his object discover the extent of its advantage, until developed by subsequent acquisitions. His personal activity was astonishing ; no route, however, but had been traversed by his indefatigable patience. His troops, led by himself by the nearest and most secret paths, hardly knew the object of their attack, until they beheld the enemy they were to defeat, or the city they were to pillage. His passions were at his command; and he never betrayed, either by word or gesture, the movements of his mind. No emergency, however sudden, found him without recourse; no danger, however imminent appalled a mind accustomed to the greatest trials." Such a master-mind could not be a slave of fate or destiny. He was indeed a favourite child of destiny upon whom she invariably showered successes in all his adventures.

10. Shivaji a diplomat— His diplomacy shines forth brilliantly at the early age of eighteen when through Mogul intercession he succeeded in securing the release of his father from the living coffin raised by the Bijapur king to smother him. Shiva and his men outwitted the Mores, and captured Javli. He took fullest advantage of the death of the Bijapur king and the absence of Aurangzeb from the Deccan by allying himself with the Moguls against Bijapur and thereby winning their friendship. This step resulted in the invasion of Afzal Khan who was outrivalled in

diplomacy and treacherous wiles by Shivaji. This 'mountain rat' was, through his superb genius, able to surprise the giant-like Shaista Khan in his bed, thoroughly rape Surat, sear the beard of wily Aurangzeb in his own capital by making a miraculous escape from Agra, tear off the veil of invincibility of the Mogul Empire, and finally eat away its vitals to such an extent that it was left a hollow carcass.

His diplomacy reaches its climax in coming to terms with the Hindu Raja Jaisingh whom he wanted to win over to his cause and in wreaking his vengeance upon Bijapur which had stabbed Shivaji in the back by invading the Konkon. But he did not assist the Moguls to such an extent as to really weaken Bijapur and thus permit it to become a morsel to the Moguls. He showed his mailed fist in a velvet glove to the ruler of Bijapur and entered into a secret alliance with him against the invaders.

After his release from Agra, he consolidated his kingdom and strengthened his forces with such rapidity that he was able to forcibly retake all the forts which he had been compelled to cede to the Moguls. Through his unrivalled diplomacy he maintained a successful struggle against the mightiest empire of the world, and hardly suffered a defeat from the greatest generals of the Mogul army.

In 1675 Shivaji coaxed Bahadur Khan for a truce, but after a few months when his object of conquering parts of the Konkon from Bijapuris had been realized, he summarily insulted the Mogul commander and the Emperor by rejecting the terms of the treaty.

Soon after he again succeeded in making a truce with the Moguls and an alliance with Kutub Shah to conquer the Karnatic. His triumph in annexing the defunct Vijayanagar empire up to Rameshwaram to his kingdom and freeing his younger brother from the suzerainty of Bijapur, sheds glory on his statemanship. At the end of his career he was trying to capture Bijapur itself and in saving it from being absorbed by the Moguls. It was his incomparable statesmanship which was ever vigilant against the conquest of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda by the Moguls. Through his

displomacy he secured financial help from these states for his wars against the Mogul armies. We must not lose sight of the fact that he maintained friendly relations with all the four European nations with whom he came into contact. Yet he defended his shipping, trade, port towns and his people from their onslaughts. The Portuguese, the English, the Dutch and the French were, as far as possible, well treated by Shivaji. He also tried to maintain a balance of power among them. For instance, he did not help the Dutch in capturing Bombay or Goa.

11. He was unique as a constructive statesman— His organizing ability is manifest from the very start, since orderly administration went hand in hand with expansion. He took 20,000 Brahmans with him on his Karnatic expedition to organize and consolidate the newly conquered districts. The contemporary European writers have borne testimony to the remarkable skill shown by Shivaji in introducing improved methods of administration in the south. The Moslem administration was oppressive on account of the employment of illiterate, mercenary and foreign adventurers who were working as officers. He did away with all foreigners and uneducated people, but appointed only educated men as officers. He took effective steps to check peculation and corruption, and thus raised the standard of administration to such a high pitch that his subjects were contented, peaceful and prosperous.

Whatever fort or territory fell into the hands of Shivaji, was immediately so strengthened and organized, that it could scarcely be recovered by his enemies. Very few instances can be quoted of the reconquest of forts by the Mogul or Adilshahi forces. This fact alone speaks volumes of his organising capacity, vigilant administration, and faithful devotion of his people.

12. Shivaji as a commander— Shivaji stands foremost in the rank of the great commanders of the world. During the political career of 35 years from 1645 to 1680 there was no commander Hindu or Muslim of the Bijapur kingdom or of the most powerful and prosperous Empire of the Moguls who did not ultimately suffer defeat from Shivaji. Princes of the royal blood, Persians, premiers, Pathans and Rajput rulers like Jaswant Singh Rathor were all

helpless against the resources of the Maratha commander. Shivaji stands foremost as an individual warrior, as an organizer and leader of armed forces. He possesses the highest military qualities of chivalrous courage, vigilant precaution and abundant resourcefulness. He took the fullest advantage of his victories and struck effective blows where they were most unexpected. He was always prompt in taking advantage of the enemy's vacillation, and in falling upon him unawares. He was master in the art of diplomacy. No politician, statesman or general of his time can stand comparison to him in this sphere.

He never shirked from entering upon desperate attempts with utmost vigour and courage. He risked his life in a duel with Afzal Khan, in his remarkable exploit against Shaista Khan, or in visiting Surat and Prince Muazzam in disguise, and especially in placing himself in the wily clutches of Aurangzeb.

Alexander and Frederick had the fortune to inherit armies trained by their fathers, and most of their distinguished generals had served in the army before their times. Here was an adventurer who had himself to create an army and train commanders in the shortest possible time. Scholars, clerks, peasants, rustics, wild tribes, in fact, men of all classes and grades of society were recruited in the army. We see the wonderful phenomenon of the creation of an army which inflicted defeats upon the Muslim warriors of the Deccan, the veteran forces of the Moguls, and the unflinching knights of the Rajput Princes. His claim to greatness lies in training hundreds of commanders and infusing an indomitable military spirit among the masses, so that after his death they could successfully fight a war of independence against the greatest power on earth in those days. They were all animated with religious fervour, courage, patriotism, discipline, self-confidence and hope of success-remarkable qualities inherited from this great leader of men.

Contemporary Englishmen compared him with Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar. The Portuguese confirmed the same view. The Hindus compared him with their greatest heroes like Parashuram, Rama, Krishna, Bhima, Balaram, etc.

The distinguished historian Orme has paid a great tribute to Shivaji. "Shivaji possessed all the qualities of a commander. He spared no cost to obtain intelligence of all motions and intentions of his enemies and even of their minuter imports. In personal activities he exceeded all the generals of whom there is record. No general ever traversed as much ground as he, at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril howsoever sudden and extreme with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude. The ablest of his officers acquiesced to the imminent superiority of his genius, and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Shivaji charging, sword in hand." [1]

General Sullivan's remarks deserve notice. "He possessed every quality requisite for success in the disturbed age in which he lived; cautious and wily in council, he was fierce and daring in action; he possessed an endurance that made him remarkable even amongst his hardy subjects, and an energy and decision that would in any age have raised him to distinctions. By his own people he was painted on a white horse going at full gallop, tossing grains of rice into his mouth, to signify that his speed did not allow him to stop to eat. He was the Hindu prince who forced the heavy Mogul cavalry to fly before the charge of the native horse of India; his strength and activity in action were the glory and admiration of his race." [2]

The appreciation of J. Scott is worth reading. "Sewajee was, as a soldier unequalled, skilled in the art of government and a friend to men of virtue and religion. He planned his schemes wisely and executed them with steadiness. He consulted many on every point but acted according to that advice which after weighing in his own mind he thought best applicable to his designs. No one was ever acquainted with his determinations but by the success of their executions." [3]

13. Shivaji and Napoleon— Napoleon was indeed a great military genius, a unique general and administrator. But we must

1. Orme, Historical Fragments, pp. 93-94.
2. Sir E. Sullivan, Warriors and Statesmen of India, p. 384.
3. Jonathan Scott, History of the Deccan, Vol. II, p. 54.

not forget that he left one army to its fate in Egypt, and fled with his own life by abandoning a still greater multitude on the snows of Russia. Finally, the remnant of his vast army he saw routed at Waterloo. This great conqueror of the world ultimately fell into the hands of his mortal enemies and remained their captive on a solitary island up to the end of his life. His empire vanished, his code was torn up and his son was disinherited in his life-time. The tragic end of Napoleon and the pathetic dissolution of his empire wear off the lustre of his victories and glories. Shivaji had no mortification of such disgraceful defeats and heart-rending tragedies. The foundations of his empire were dug so deep and it was so completely welded together that it could successfully pass through the greatest crisis after his death. It grew bigger and stronger with the lapse of time, so that his successors are still ruling at Kolhapur after the lapse of more than 250 years.

14. An extraordinary resourcefulness was a remarkable feature of his genius. His whole life is a commentary on the superb versatility exhibited by him in times of emergency. He was never taken at a disadvantage by the wiles, deceits, secret plans and perfidy of his enemies. On the contrary he mostly succeeded in catching them in his net. His genius seemed to shine brilliantly amidst dangers, and he adopted original means to rescue himself or to destroy his enemies. The release of Shahji, the massacre of Mores, the assassination of Afzal Khan, his escape from Panhala, his ruse near Vishalgad, the rape of Surat, his escape from Agra, his flight through the Mogul Empire, are exploits which appear to be romances. These magnificently illustrate the versatility of his unique genius.

Douglas has well said: "Like all animals that have been hunted (as he, Shivaji had been) he was wary and apprehensive to a degree and boundless in stratagem to meet sudden emergencies. In this science he had more in his little finger than Aurangzeb had in his whole body—a light sleeper with one eye ever open. And for courage we have Orme's authority and he may have had it from a living representative, that it was the boast of soldiers to have been

with Shivaji when he rushed sword in hand into the midst of the enemy." [1]

15. The character of Shivaji has been rightly protrayed by Swami Ramdas. His appreciation of the virtues of the young king was the reflection of the popular opinion. Therefore it embodies the Hindu contemporary view.

"He is like a high mountain in determination. He is the support of many people. He is unflinching in his ideals. He is rich in asceticism. The stream of his good deeds is ever flowing. How can the greatness of his virtues be compared to others? He is a glorious, victorious, valorous, virtuous, charitable, diplomatic, and wise king. He is devoted to virtue, reason, charity and religion. He is humble, though he is omniscient. He is unwavering, liberal, grave, heroic and ever-ready for action. This best of kings has outdone others in resourcefulness. He is the protector of the gods, religion, cows and Brahmans. In his heart God has established Himself to inspire him. Scholars, Sadhus, poets, Brahmans devoted to sacrifices, and philosophers are supported by him. There is none like him as a protector of religion in this world. If the religion of Maharashtra is somewhat alive now, it is due to him."

16. The Lion of Maharashtra:—Such was the saintly king who was spitefully and preversely called a 'Mountain Rat' and an unscrupulous villain by his enemies. He was undoubtedly a man of the mountain. His admirers style him the Lion of Maharashtra. There is no doubt that he turned lambs into lions. The poor, down-trodden, submissive, fatalistic masses of Maharashtra were galvanized by his magic touch and inspiring personality into a superhuman activity. They were transformed into finest soldiers, dare-devils, consummate generals, constructive statesmen to match the mighty Moguls, the heroes of a hundred battles. Such was the magic transformation brought by this 'illiterate, uncultured, despised, robber.' Shivaji can justly be called a magician, a superman whose deeds shall ever emblazen the pages of Indian history.

1. J Douglas, Bombay and Western India. Vol. I, p. 368.

CHAPTER II

Shivaji a Robber

1. European view:— The Europeans did not realize that Shivaji was fighting for the freedom of the Hindus from the onslaughts of fanatic Muslim kings. They called him a marauder, a robber, a rover, a thief, a freebooter, a plunderer. Contemporary Englishmen condemn him as "a pirate and universal robber that hath no regard to friend nor foe, God nor man." The republican Dutch were specially profuse in calling him a robber. In almost every letter reproduced in these volumes, Shivaji is addressed a robber or rover by them. He has been branded as a monster of atrocious cruelty, a merciless tyrant, an incendiary who indulged in an orgy of plunder and desolation of opulent cities and rich provinces. He was called a devil, a devil's son, the son of damnation, a hell-dog by the contemporary Muslims, and the Atila of Asia by the Portuguese. Even Col. Tod was so unsympathetic as to say that "the Marathas were associations of vampires who drained the very life-blood wherever the scent of spoil attracted them.'

Sir John Seeley bluntly wrote that 'in the Maratha movement there never was anything elevated or patriotic, but that it continued from the first to be an organisation of plunder.'

V. Smith, a distinguished English historian who spent his whole active career in India, has nothing better to say. "The Maratha independent rule was the rule of professed robbers. In short. the Marathas were robbers by profession."

Sir J. Sarkar, the learned historian of Shivaji, writes that the object of Shivaji's military enterprises was mere plunder.

2. Plunder after an ultimatum:— It is asserted that Shivaji freely indulged in lawless plunder and rapine, indiscriminate

destruction, cruelty and tyranny. The plunder of Surat, Rajapur, Karwar, Hubli, Chhapra, etc, left heaps of ashes and ruins of desolation. We have heart-rending scenes of the destruction of many such places. These volumes provide numerous instances of the horrible scenes of plunder and arson. But we should not forget the circumstances which led to the fiercest retribution. Shiva did not indulge in indiscriminate plunder, but his loot was regulated by humane laws.

Every time that the Maratha forces approached Surat, the authorities and the people were given ultimatums to send an adequate present to the invading army within a certain time, otherwise the city would be given over to the fire and sword. Even in the case of Karwar, Vingurla, Hubli such ultimatums are unequivocally mentioned.

As early as May 1663 the English factors write that "all the way as he goes along, he gives his Qaul, promising them that neither he nor his souldiers shall in the least do any wrong to any body that takes his Qaul; which promise he hitherto hath kept." [1] Thus plunder was resorted to in places where ransom was not paid.

The Dutch while condemning his tyranny, have admitted that he gave an opportunity to the people to ransom their places. "Nearly all the places he marched through, were set on fire by him if they did not pay the money he demanded and that so hastily that parents could not save their children from the flames." [2]

3. Rules re. Plunder:—It was a recognized law of Shivaji that cows, calves, women, children, Brahmans and priests of all religions, were not to be molested in plundering a town. All houses of God, like temples, mosques and churches, even orphanages and convents were sacred, and consequently, exempt from plunder. A millionaire escaped in the disguise of a woman from Karanja as he knew that he would not be molested or questioned in that dress. [3]

1. Shivaji, Vol. I, p. 83; see pp 196, 291, 294, 326, 345, 559.
2. Shivaji, Vol. I, p. 559.
3. Shivaji, Vol. I, p. 232.

In Surat the Capuchin priests were given protection, and hence the Maratha Raja is called "the Holy Shivaji" by Bernier. Not only this, the same writer produces another testimony of the discriminatory system of Maratha loot. Mohandas Parekh of Surat was well-known for his charities, and hence even after his death the house of such a pious man was exempted from plunder by an order of Shivaji.

On p. 573 of Vol. I, there is a Dutch statement that Shiva carried away from Bardes young girls whom he sold to his soldiers. This might be an exception to the general rule. He had invaded Bardes for the protection of the Hindus who on pain of banishment had been prohibited the exercise of their religion (Vol. II, p. 507). The general practice of the times was to enslave both men and women. Shivaji as a rule refrained from slavery, but the Portuguese oppressions might have led him to follow the general custom of enslaving women as a retaliatory measure. When Shah Jahan destroyed the Portuguese town of Hugli in Bengal, 4,400 were taken prisoners, and of these 500 best looking young persons were sent to Agra. The girls were distributed among the harems of the Emperor and the nobility; and the boys were circumcised and made Mussalmans.[1]

4. **The regulations regarding expeditions** laid down that an inventory of the goods of every soldier was to be made on the start and also on his return. The articles taken in loot and belonging to the state, were taken from him and his pay for the months of service was given to him. Shivaji kept spies in the army to see how far his regulations were being observed. The delinquents were punished. In the loot of Hubly the English claimed a large sum of compensation from Shivaji. He told them that he had not received their articles. These might have been plundered by a party of the Muslims which followed the Maratha army. In the Dharangaon plunder too the English factors demanded far more than was reported to Shivaji. He refused to compensate them for anything more than had been received by him. It is evident that

1. Elliot, VII, pp. 42–43; 211.

he had much confidence in the strict discipline of his army and believed that there were a very few opportunities for embezzlement accessible to his sepoys.

Thus plunder was regulated by detailed rules, and indiscriminate cruelty was avoided as far as possible. We learn from Da Guarda that it was the strict order of Shivaji that unless resistance was offered, no one should be killed.[1]

5. **Plunder justified**— His system of plunder is fully justifiable. Once it is admitted that he was at war with the Muslim States, both of the South and the North, he was permitted by both Eastern and Western international laws to lead plundering expeditions into the enemy's country. Sukra in his 'Sukraniti' has clearly laid down that [2]

" The powerful should carefully coerce the enemy by stopping the supplies of water, provisions, fodder, grass, etc. in an unfavourable region and then extirpate it.

One should commence military operations all of a sudden and withdraw also in an instant and fall upon the enemy like robbers from a distance."

The punitive expeditions in the N. W. frontier of India led by the Indian Government are of the same kind. The desolating expeditions against the Red Indians by civilized Americans to exterminate the whole race, were decidedly worse than those of Shivaji. The Spanish expeditions for the wholesale extinction of the native Americans in Mexico, Peru and Brazil fully illustrate the unbridled character of civilized warfare of Europe. Shivaji did not adopt those devilish methods. Compare the cruel tyrannies inflicted upon the innocent people by the Christian conquerors in Mexico, Peru and Brazil, or in the U. S. A. and Australia in modern times. We should not ignore the indiscriminate slaughter of the undefended civilian population by bombs and poisonous gases in Abyssinia, Spain and Poland.

1. Shivaji, Vol. I, 208. 2. Ch. IV. VII, 740, 747 (Eng. Trans.).

6. System of Chauth— We should particularly remember his system of Chauth which was levied from the enemy subjects to give them protection from further invasion and molestation. Thus the Maratha ruler made all efforts to reduce the miseries and pangs of warfare by wise regulations- He invited the enemy subjects to accept his sovereignty or his protection by giving Chauth. If these alternatives were not accepted by them, they were to undergo all the miseries which war would justify to be inflicted upon them. By his frequent expeditions against Surat and other rich commercial towns, he impressed upon the people that they were insecure and unprotected under Muslim rulers, hence they should renounce their allegiance to them and accept his rule. Once they became his subjects, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, they enjoyed peace and security in the Maratha Raj.

7. Why Black-mail necessary ?— Shivaji often used to say to the Mogul subjects that their Emperor was hurling armies after armies against him, and was thus compelling him to maintain large forces to defend his territory. These extra armies could be maintained by extra taxes levied upon his own subjects or by the plunder obtained from the Mogul territories. The first course would have exhausted his own people, but by the second method he enriched his people, enthused them for war, infused a spirit of invincibility in them, and showed them the weakness of his enemies. Thus for eight months his soldiers used to feed themselves at the expense of the enemy, and also bring much wealth into their own country.

In short, the maxims of political science, international law, and historical practice supply justification of his plundering system. It is to the credit of Shivaji that he made efforts to minimize the miseries of war. His was an organised plunder full of humane laws. Hence he stands far above such conquerors as Alexander, Mahmud, Changez, Timur and Nadirshah.

8. Shivaji and Mahmud:— The lust of plunder alone lured Mahmud to the richest temple of Somnath. It was mere filthy lucre that was the cause of his fourteen expeditions to India,

Compare his proverbial cupidity of refusing to give the agreed sum to Firdausi, the author of Shahnama, with the generosity that characterized Shivaji in patronizing hundreds of scholars and saints. Then compare the death-scenes of both. While Mahmud bitterly cried and shed a stream of tears at being deprived by the god of death, of wealth which had been laboriously accumulated by him, Shivaji, though his treasuries were full like those of Mahmud, lay unconcerned with respect to wealth. He was engrossed in contemplating God with a spiritual calm and peace unusual in crowned persons. It appeared that he had been leading a life of renunciation and not of a leader of conquering hosts.

9. Shivaji and Changez Khan— It is necessary here to bring in the name of Changez Khan, the scourge of God, the mighty man-slayer who demolished numerous cities, devastated vast countries, massacred and enslaved hundreds of thousands of men. In Herat and its surrounding districts 600,000 persons were put to the sword, while in Bagdad the figure of the dismal holocaust rose to 1,600,000 people. Historians have estimated that more than one crore and eighty lakhs people were done to death by the Mongols.

"The grim pageantry of death that appeared in the tracks of the Mongol horsemen" has been well depicted by various historians. Elphinstone has well said that "this irruption of the Moguls was the greatest calamity that has fallen on mankind since the deluge." "This destruction of human life bewilders the modern imagination."[1] Shivaji was mercy itself as compared to the Mongol conquerors.

10. Shivaji and Timur:—Now let us compare him with Timur. This Turko-Mongol scourge of mankind invaded India for slaves and wealth. From Hindukush to Samana, 'he slaughtered the inhabitants of every place he passed.'[2] By the time that he reached Delhi, he had one hundred thousand Hindu slaves in his camp. Foreseeing the danger of revolt and disturbance by such large

1. Cf. Harold Lamp, Genghis Khan. p. 13; Elphinstone, History of India, p. 321.
2. Elphinstone, Ibid, p. 406.

numbers at the time of his battle with the Delhi forces, he mercilessly ordered all these human beings to be put to the sword as if they were dogs or flies. This is only one example of the mercy and humanity of this world-conqueror. On his return from India, in all the places visited by him innumerable infidels were despatched to the fires of hell. Thousands of people who escaped death were made prisoners and carried to Samarkand. The fair city of Delhi was given up to plunder and conflagration for five days. During such a horrible massacre of human beings Timur was celebrating a feast in honour of his victory. Towers were built with the heads of Hindus and their bodies were left to beasts and birds of prey. Elphinstone summarizes the character of Timur by calling him a wily, violent, and perfidious politician.[1] Shivaji did not enslave any people - even the Muslims, though captives of war could be sold in slavery by him according to the custom of the time. Even the Europeans in those days were enslaving Indians and transporting them to their colonies. But Shivaji did not follow this reprehensible practice. His ideal was to liberate his people from the foreign yoke and to break the bonds of the slavery of the Hindus.

11. Shivaji and Nadirshah:—Lastly, we should like to bring out an incident from the lives of Nadirshah and Shivaji. The former gave up Delhi, the most splendid city of the Mogul Empire to fire, sword and indiscriminate plunder on the murder of his few soldiers by some aggrieved inhabitants of the city. At least 30,000 persons were brutally murdered, though Fraser puts the figure at 150,000 men. The city remained a hedious scene of rapine, lust, destruction, fire, blood and terror for full one day. Shivaji was mercy itself on a much more serious occasion. The Governor of Surat employed an assassin to murder the Raja. He came as an ambassador of the Governor, and in course of conversation thrust his dagger at the heart of Shivaji. The body-guard of the Raja was extremely vigilant, he cut off the hand of the assassin in the very act of thrusting the dagger, so that Shivaji received only

1. History of India, p. 408.

a slight wound. But both the Raja and the assassin weltered in a pool of blood. The Marathas thought that their Raja was murdered. They ordered the heads of the captives to be cut off in revenge. In a few moments Shivaji came back to senses. He at once stopped the massacre of the few captives in his camp, and took no measures to avenge himself for this dastardly deed upon the Governor or the the people of Surat.

On comparing Shivaji with the Asiatic conquerors, it will be seen that the latter fully indulged in plunder, rapine, oppression, tyranny, slavery, forcible conversions. All of these came to put the yoke of foreign rule on this country. They were not only slave-making and fanatic Ghazies for converting Hindus into Muslims, but were the destroyers of the liberty and autonomy of the Indian people. On the other hand, Shivaji stood forth as the patriotic champion of the freedom and independence of his people. He proved himself their liberator from the centuries of foreign rule. There can really be no comparison between a patriotic liberator of his mother-land and a destroyer of the liberties of men, between a slave-driver aud a slave-liberator, between a fanatic Ghazi and an ardent and respectful admirer of all religions. Comparisons are said to be odious, but the study of history will be fruitless, if readers are not to have a comparative insight into the deeds of great men.

CHAPTER III

The Grand Rebel or Liberator

1. Misconception of European settlers:—The English factors of Karwar felicitously described Shiva in 1678 as "the grand rebel and great disturber of the felicity of the Deccan." Whilst the Bijapuri forces "lie effiminately at house fearful of wetting their tender skins, our Maharajah plays his game so wisely as to destroy, rob, plunder, devastate and ruin the major and best part of their kingdom." One Surat letter of 1666 reports the defeat of 'that grand rebell Sevagy' and another of his imprisonment in these words: "The grand rebell Sevagee is at last entrapped and caught in the same nett of glorious promises that hee was wont to make for others by this King, who is as perfidious as himself." Soon after it is reported that 'the grand rebel Sevage is escaped' from Agra. The Surat factors again in 1673 refer to Shivaji as 'that grand rebel who doth persist in his villanies.'[1] In several letters he is styled 'the great rebel,' 'the arch rebel.'

It is true that he was a rebel against the Muslim monarchies of Delhi and the Deccan. He aimed at their overthrow, and worked for the restoration of the freedom and independence of his own country. He stands in the foremost rank of such liberators as Washington, Garibaldi, De Valera and Lenin. Each one of these rebels fought against the foreign or despotic government then prevalent in his country. Shivaji rebelled against political oppression, religious intolerance, social injustice, and cultural suppression, rampant under the Muslim monarchies. Through his extraordinary powers he succeeded in freeing the Hindus from the galling yoke of centuries. The European settlers in India could not appreciate his high and noble motives, but were superficial observers of the events passing before their eyes. Abbe Carre rightly appreciated the career of Shivaji by

1. Shivaji, Vol. I, pp. 245, 256, 266, 409, Vol. II, 198.

saying that he soon appeared to the East in a rebel subject a conqueror worthy nevertheless to be compared with the greatest men.[1] In another place he describes Shiva as 'one of the greatest warriors that the East has seen since a long time, and who, for his courage, the rapidity of his conquests and his great qualities, does not badly resemble the great Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus. The same author has testified that Shiva was loved by his enemies. "To this swiftness he like Julius Cæsar joined a clemency and a goodness which gained for him the hearts of those whom his arms came to terrify."

It is a pity that the European powers of the time, though themselves fighting for religious liberty in Europe and struggling for the independence of their countries, could not perceive any higher motive in the struggles of Shivaji. In England the struggle for religious liberty was led by John Wiclif and Henry VIII. For a century and a half the English kings and people were fighting for the victory of their respective faiths, Protestantism or Catholicism. At last in 1688, the people succeeded by a bloodless revolution to change the succession to the throne from a Catholic king to a foreign Protestant ruler, William III. In that very year here in India, the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb completed his conquest of the three Deccan monarchies and wreaked his vengeance by mercilessly executing the Hindu Chhatrapati Sambhaji, the leader of an independent Hinduism against the persecuting Islam. He came to believe that the Hindus of the Deccan would submit themselves like those of the North to his persecuting laws and would soon accept Islam. He could hardly realize that Shivaji had prepared millions of Sambhajis for the defence of the Hindu religion and the overthrow of the Islamic state.

"The army of Rajaram like that of Rama should fall upon the Muslims suddenly, from unexpected quarters in bands of 500 or 1,000, even 200 men. They should separate them, drive them, kill them and then run away. To sum up, all the people should have one aim of protecting Rajaram's kingdom at the sacrifice of

1. Shivaji, Vol. I, p. 232; Hist. Misc. Pp. 36. 46.

their own lives. The whole Hindu people should struggle for their independence without caring for their lives." The Marathas were transformed from a timid and down-trodden people into a conquering nation. Many people had been prepared to lay down their lives at the altar of their religion and country by the great king Shivaji. It was this wonderful transformation of the whole people from down-trodden, persecuted, passive, patient, submissive and suppressed sheep into fearless, revengeful and conquering lions that was the immortal work of the great king. He had succeeded in uniting all the warring castes of the Hindus into one nation infused with the spirit of independence and conquest. His real work was visible after his death in times of the grave national emergency. The indigenous as well as the foreign people used to call the Maratha soldiers as "Shivajis," as if every Maratha sepoy had become an incarnation of Shivaji.

2. **The mortal fear of the Marathas**:—It was not merely the name of Shivaji which caused consternation among the Muslim armies, even after his death his generals Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade had created an extraordinary terror in the minds of their Muslim foes. Whenever a horse refused to drink water, the attendant used to question the animal whether it was seeing Ghorpade in the water. Trained for many years under the vigilant eye, strict discipline, elevating example and noble idealism of the great king, hundreds and thousands of officers unflinchingly carried on the war of independence for twenty years against the greatest power on earth in those days, and finally succeeded in inflicting crushing defeats upon their aged foe who died of a broken heart. At Aurangabad at his death-bed he had the generosity and vision to appreciate the virtues of Shivaji, who though dead, was present upon the battle-fields in spirit and was encouraging his soldiers to display their superhuman bravery.

3. **Hindvi Swaraj or the ideal of Indian independence**:—It is absolutely incorrect to say that Shivaji had no ideal except plunder. His ideal had been definitely determined as early as 1645 when he was a boy of sixteen and at the threshold of his political career.

The appropriate portion has been reproduced on 23rd page of Part II. There are two more letters Nos. 503 and 506 requiring Dadaji Naras Prabhu to give up the cause of Shivaji and show allegiance to the Bijapur ruler. [1] It appears that up to that time notable Maval Deshmukhs like Bandal, Khopde and Jedhe had not allied themselves with this Maratha dreamer of Swaraj. Shivaji was convinced that God was with him in this holy war. He was consequently anxious to obtain the blessings of holy men and through them of gods. In a letter of Feb. 1653 Shivaji granted an Inam to a Brahman of Mahabaleshwar for performing certain rites to secure the progress of his Rajya. As this grant was made with the sanction of his mother, it is evident that she was in full sympathy with the ideal of her son. A few months later another grant was made to a Brahman of Chakan, because Shivaji had become entitled to a Rajya and obtained the fulfilment of his desire through the power of the holy man's prayers to God.[2] Being a noble of Bijapur and anxious to keep his power and position in old age, Shahji could not openly sympathize with the deeds of his son. After his release from captivity at Bijapur in 1649, he planned an independent kingdom for his adventurous son, gave him his most trusted servants, advised them to bring all the Maval Deshmukhs under him and to repel the attacks of both the Mogul and Bijapur forces. All along Shahji was anxiously watching and praying for the success of the young dreamer. He had vowed to offer a rich gift to the famous god of Jejuri if his son succeeded in establishing Swaraj.[3]

After the murder of Afzal Khan Shahji began to advance with his troops to assist his son for capturing Bijapur, but the scheme was given up when the old warrior learnt the withdrawal of the Maratha forces. Thus Swaraj and Hindvi Swaraj were ideals before Shivaji from 1645. Nothing succeeds like success. In the beginning it was a day-dream impossible to be realized. Hence all important persons kept themselves aloof from the arch rebel. But

1, P. S. S.

2-3 Shivaji, Part I, 168; Part II, 30.

as the dream began to be transformed into a reality, more and more Maratha nobles joined him in this holy cause.

Now it is manifest that Shivaji for the first time used the magnetic words "Hindvi Swaraj" which have become popular since then. It should be noted that it was not merely Swaraj for Maharashtra, not even Swaraj for the Hindus, but an All-Indian Swaraj. He was against foreign rule and religious persecutions. He even tried to win the Indian Muslims to his cause and made an alliance against the foreign Pathans, Moguls and Persians. As the Muslim rulers were fanatically engaged in the unholy work of forcible conversions, he was ultimately led to subvert Muslim rule in India and establish Hindu Swaraj in the whole of India. A few evidences are culled below to manifest his noble ideal of Indian independence.

1. His ambitious programme of conquest is significantly indicated by the motto engraved on his royal seal. It was fixed to each important document, and reminded him and the world the ultimate ideal of the hero. "This seal of Shivaji, son of Shahji, rules for the welfare of the people. This world-worshipped seal is desirous of growing like the new moon into a full moon." This seal can be traced to 1639. Shivaji was merely a boy of 9 years. The ideal was probably put before him by his astute father.

2. Even in 1665, the letter written by Shivaji to Mirza Raja Jaisingh, puts forth his whole programme and ideal in unequivocal terms. (Vol. I, p. 247).

3. His conquest of Southern India as far as Tanjore and covering a large part of the Vijayanagar Empire, took him nearer his ideal.

4. His system of veiled subsidies from the two Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan, was the recognition of his suzerainty over them. In outward form and in name it may be a gift made by a friendly power to an aggressor to cease from hostility and also to keep away others from aggression. It was really a tribute, and it has been so called by the Maratha chronicles.

5. The system of Chauth was a powerful instrument to impose the suzerainty of the Marathas on non-Maratha territories. The successors of Shivaji widely used this instrument of augmenting the empire by bringing in chauth—paying protectorates.

6. Shiva followed the subtle policy of exciting the Rajputs against Aurangzeb for becoming independent. In his letter to Jaisingh he pleaded for a union of northern and southern Hindu rulers, for bringing about the overthrow of the Muslim domination. In pursuit of this policy he advised Chhatrasal to return to his country and begin the fight for independence in the heart of the empire. This policy was finally crowned with success, since the Bundhelas dealt severe blows to the empire and dissipated its resources.

7. Shivaji went to seek the blessing of saint Parmanand for the conquest of Rajapur. He offered the saint in gift a village for every fort conquered by him, but the Swami declined to accept the offer and demanded villages in the unconquered provinces of Hyderabad, Berar, Khandesh, Baglan, Malwa and Gujerat. The Maharaja understood the implication of the demand. "All these provinces are now bestowed upon me," said he, "through your blessing these will be annexed by me." A similar offer is said to have been made by Samarth Ramdas. Thus saints encouraged Shivaji in strengthening his imperial idea of conquering the whole of India.[1]

8. We have H. Gary's evidence that "Shivaji had vowed to his pagod (Goddess Bhavani) never to sheath his sword till he had reached Delhi and shut up Aurangshah in it."[2]

9. Dr. Fryer too has fortunately recorded the views of Shivaji. 'He tells them, his compeers the Duccanees, he is their champion, and that none of them besides himself has the heart to stand up for their country : and therefore if he chance now and then to rob them, it is but to reward himself and soldiers for his and their pains in endeavouring to free them from a more unnatural slavery."[3]

1. Wakaskar, 91 Q. Bakhar, p. 131.
2-3. Shivaji, Part III, Pp. 254, 174.

10. The 91 Q. Chronicle informs us that during his conversation with Tana Shah, Shivaji observed that if the two kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur assisted him, he would conquer for them the whole of Hindustan.

11. The Chitragupta Chronicle (P. 131) records that Shivaji expressed regret to his son Sambhaji that only one object of his remained unfulfilled and that was the conquest of Delhi by making Aurangzeb absolutely helpless. However time was to show how for his goddess Amba would favour this design.

12. One more testimony is to be found in Shivaji's letter to Maloji Ghorpade. The latter was persuaded to leave the cause of Bijapur, and join Shivaji and Kutubshah in stamping out foreign rule from the Deccan. " It is not a good thing that the Pathans came to possess the Padshahi of the Deccan. If they become powerful, they will destroy the families of the Deccani nobles one after the other. They will not allow any one to live. The Pathans should be destroyed, and steps should be taken to keep the Padshahi of the Deccan in the hands of the Deccanees. After an agreement was accepted by both sides, we also thought that whatever Marathas are of our caste, they should be taken into the confederacy and should be introduced to Kutubshah."[1]

13. The last will and testament of Shivaji is significant in showing his ideals and ambitious programmes. He exhorted his officers to put forth all their energy for the extension of the Maratha kingdom to the further most confines of India and for capturing the throne of Delhi; to free the sacred Ganges from the yoke of the Muslims; to cross the Indus and implant the Maratha flag in the trans-Indus Himalayas. " It was my intense desire to conquer the whole of India, but I have not fulfilled it on account of my premature death. You should all attempt to realize this high ideal. The kingdom founded by me should be consolidated and extended with more heroism than I have ever exhibited."

1. Shivaji, Part III, 282.

CHAPTER IV

Shivaji, Prince of Perfidy

1. A prince of perfidy, a cunning fox, a master of craft, a perfidious thief, a wily and subtle politician are the titles given to Shiva. He is said to have unscrupulously used all sorts of treachery, duplicity, intrigue, giles and frauds to confound and kill his enemies. Even in April 1660, Shivaji is described by the Dutch as a cunning fox who stands ready with all his devilish practices and cunning to buy Siddi Jauhar. The English depict him as one of the most politic princes of those eastern parts. Escaliot describes him as distrustful, secret, subtle, cruel and perfidious.[1] Instead of condemning Shiva we should admire him that his sharp genius was ever ready to discover new methods to humiliate and embarrass his enemies and to win as much by diplomacy as by war. All great conquerors had recourse to intrigue and treachery according to the necessities of the moment. Smith concludes that Akbar felt no scruples about removing his enemies by assassination. He adds that the tortuous diplomacy and perfidious action which on several occasions marked the emperor's political proceedings, should not excite surprise or draw excessive censure.[2] Aurangzeb was no less perfidious than Shivaji. He had tracked 'his unfaltering way through a cloud of mysterious intrigues and a sea of blood to the throne.' In him were combined the venomous craft of Louis XI with the merciless ferocity of Caesar Borgia'. The Bijapur rulers did not spare clandestine means to do away with their enemies. Napoleon took pride in saying that he knew when to exchange the lion-skin for that of the fox. Though Shiva never shrank from using subtle means to fulfil his ends, it has been proved that he did not practise perfidy in the disposal of the Mores of Javli and Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol. The assassination of Afzal Khan has remained a live issue even up till now. Kincaid, the latest

1. Shivaji, Vol. I, Pp, 212, 390, 480.
2. Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 342.

biographer of Shiva, has absolved him from treachery in his recent book 'The Grand Rebel.' I have critically examined the evidence available on the murder ef Afzal Khan to throw more light on the controversy.

2. Statement of the case:—The question should have been closed after the most definite views of Sir J. Sarkar expressed in his third edition of Shivaji. Its recent resuscitation requires a re-examination. I take it for granted that the reader is acquainted with the main story of the death of Afzal Khan. My conclusions on this controversy can be stated in four propositions.

(1) Shivaji was justified even in treacherously murdering Afzal Khan, because everything is fair in love and war.

(2) In that age treachery was the useful weapon for assassinating one's enemies. We should not judge the men of that age by our standard of morality. If any one is to be blamed, it is the Khan for using treachery.

(3) The Khan had taken the pledge to use deceitful means for capturing or murdering Shivaji. Therefore, the latter was justified in paying the Khan in his own coins.

(4) Lastly, the Khan was extremely anxious to have the Maratha rebel near him as he was confident that he could over-power him with his superior strength. So he readily consented to the terms proposed by Shivaji. In the long run the latter out-witted his adversary in diplomacy and deceit. Both of them were suspicious of each other and had come prepared to meet the worst. The Khan was the first to attack Shivaji, so that the latter killed the former in self-defence. The Khan's murder was consequently not a premeditated and treacherous act of Shivaji. These propositions will now be explained below. Starting with the supposition that Shivaji did use treachery in killing Afzal Khan, we see no reason to condemn him.

3. Life and death struggle:—This war was a life and death struggle for both Shivaji and the Khan. The former had to face a formidable army sent by Bijapur to destroy his infant Swaraj and

to murder him. It was his duty to save himself and his kingdom by all means, as everything is fair in love and war. Secondly, the Khan had been the cause of the murder of Shiva's elder brother; he had led Shahji in fetters to Bijapur; he was guilty of desecrating the Hindu temples and of the inhuman murder of his numerous wives; he was the enemy of Maratha Swaraj and was pledged to restore Javli to the surviving scion of the More family; and lastly, he had taken a solemn vow to carry Shivaji alive or dead to Bijapur. Shiva should not be condemned for his success in entrapping such a foe in his clutches and finally assassinating him. Thirdly, he believed himself to be a divine agent tor establishing a Hindu Kingdom in Maharashtra. His success meant the existence and growth of this new Raj. His death entailed its total destruction. Shivaji was trying to bring in a revolution. Evry revolution is fostered by subterranian propaganda, secret massacres and satanic atrocities. Secrecy and treachery are the very soul of a revolution. Shivaji was justified in following all these methods to bring the revolution to a successful issue. The hands of Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler are dyed red with the blood of thousands of innocent people. Shivaji was mercy itself in comparison to the horrors perpetrated by the Bolshevics in establishing their suppremacy in Russia.

Fourthly, it was a war of arms and diplomacy. Shiva was certainly weak in the first, but extremely strong in the latter. He was a master in the art of dissimulation, and easily confused his foes by this subtle means. Even Rama, Krishna, and Indra are said to have a recourse to treachery in war. Sukra has frankly advised rulers " to inspire confidence in the enemy by sweet smiling face, soft words, confession of guilt, gifts, humiliation, praise, good offices as well as oaths" (IV. VII. 365.) Chanakya, the Indian Mechiavelli, has taught hundred and one means of secretly murdering enemies. We need not recoil at the use of treachery, rather admire Shivaji for befooling his foe and ending the war to his immense advantage. His act is justified in the light of history and on the principles of policy.

4. Treachery-the most common means of murders:— Afzal Khan had been guilty of treacherously murdering the Nayak of Sira after he had invited him to a conference (Shahji, p. 111). Ali Adil Shah was guilty of murdering Bahlol Khan treacherously (Shivaji Vol. I, p. 95); he and the queen-mother murdered several ministers by some treacherous means up to 1658. Then Khawas Khan was murdered by Bahlol in 1675 through treachery; Aurangzeb had treacherously put to death his brothers and relatives; even Mirza Raja Jaisingh was ready to use treachery against Shivaji by inviting him for negotiating a marriage of the latter's daughter with his own son. Scores of officers were poisoned by the Mogul Emperors and their Governors. Even the most faithful and veteran general Jai Singh was poisoned by Aurangzeb. We need not quote the well-known examples of treachery committed by the Nizamshahi king to murder Shivaji's grand-father Jadhavrao in the open Durbar, by Malik Ambar's son in murdering his master, the Nizam Shahi king in revenge for treachery used against him, by Alla-ud-din Khilji in murdering his uncle and in capturing the ruler of Chittor, or by Sher Shah in capturing Rohitas Fort and in conquering Jodhpur. In such a vicious atmosphere of political morality, it is hard to believe that Afzal Khan intended no harm to Shivaji ; that he had come there like an innocent lamb to be murdered by the Maratha wolf. If he was really so stupid and simple as to fall into the trap of Shivaji, so much the worse for him. The Maratha rebel is to be admired all the more for the success of his artful stratagems. It will be the climax of diplomacy, duplicity and machination that he should have so lulled the enemy into a sense of security as to annihilate him in a moment. Shivaji was convinced that the general was finding out secret means of putting him to death. Therefore he came fully prepared to recoil treachery upon his foe. All preparations were made in self-defence, so that he should not be taken unawares. Hence Khan's death was a preventive and not a pre-meditated and treacherous murder.

It should not be forgotten that the suppression of Shivaji was considered to be the most difficult task by the nobles of Bijapur.

Afzal Khan alone came forward to bring Shiva alive or dead to Bijapur. But he was really doubtful of his success. According to Abbé Carré he shut himself up in his mansion for several days to enjoy the last pleasures of this world. The climax of this round of enjoyments was an incredible tragedy. He was afraid that after his death his wives might be taken up by others. Therefore, he killed 120 ladies of his harem.[1] The Muslim world of those days was not stunned with the demoniac murder of so many innocent ladies. This tragedy is a strange commentary on the unlimited power enjoyed by the nobles of those times. Instead of being hanged for such a brutal inhumanity, he was honoured by his ruler and given command of the forces sent against Shivaji. It is evident that Afzal Khan came with a determination to conquer or die. He desired to have Shiva in his clutches by diplomatic means. But he was out-witted by his subtle adversary.

5. Evidence of the Khan's treachery—(1) The tragedy of Afzal occurred on 10th Nov., 1659. Exactly one month later the English Factor of Rajapur wrote that Afzal Khan was counselled by the Queen to pretend friendship with his enemy; and (*2*) that the General did follow this advice. "The other whether through intelligence or suspicion, it's not known, too dissembled his love towards him", till he lured his troops to the fatal valley of the Koina.

(2) The fact of capturing him alive and bringing the captive to the court is borne out by the contemporary Shiva Bharata (17. 13. 37). If capture was not possible, he was to kill him in any case. The Shiva Bharata says:

"Raja Shivaji has trust in me; so I shall now meet him under colour of arranging peace, and myself plunging my concealed dagger deep into his heart, shall presently create panic even in the abode of the gods":— thus the Muhammedan planned treachery in his own mind; how Shivaji, knowing all that, prepared to visit

1. Basatin-i-Salatin confirms the story. The number of ladies killed is 64 and their graves are said to exist outside Bijapur city near the Musoleum of the Khan.

him with the fruits of his treachery in battle-all that I will tell you."

(3) We are told thrice by Sabhasad that Shivaji was to be captured alive (see pages 10, 15, 16 of Sen's Sh. Chh.) and that he was informed of the secret plans of the Queen and the General by friendly nobles of Bijapur.

(4) The firman to Kanhoji Jedhe mentions that Shivaji and his followers are to be exterminated (Shivaji Souvenir, p. 142). Shiva did not remain satisfied with the information received from his friends at Bijapur. He sent his envoy to the Khan's camp at Wai to confirm the truth. He came to know that the Khan was cherishing perfidious designs against him. Therefore he adopted all means to counteract his secret plans and to pay him in his own coin.

(5) Both these facts are fully borne out by an impartial Dutch document. This evidence is so explicit and unequivocal that all later accounts have to be ignored before it. (Shivaji Vol. I, p. 475).

"He commanded thither the noble Lord Abdulchan, his General, with an awful army with an express order that he should destroy the above-mentioned Siwasie by the strength of his arms or he should rob him of his life as possible with sweet words and great promises and affirmations of unmingled friendship. This resolution has been plainly communicated to him by a most prominent councellor of the Visiapour Court, warning the above-named Siwasie not to trust in the noble Lord Abdulchan who was sent for no other purpose but to ruin him (lit. to fetch his head)."

In this war of diplomacy Shiva outwitted the Khan and successfully despatched him to the other world. This is described as treacherous murder, but it was really a preventive murder or a murder in self-defence. It is permitted by ancient and modern laws and the Hindu books on polity.

6. Khan's anxiety to have the interview:—Shivaji took up the challenge and thought out plans to destroy the Khan and his forces.

The former had taken the central part of Shivaji's kingdom, now he was most anxious to obtain an interview with the rebel so that in a duel he might despatch that short-sized youth to the other world. It seemed to be a fight between a giant and a pigmy. Afzal with his gigantic figure was a hero of a hundred victories. Shivaji was a small and slender young man of 30 years in no way a match for the strong, sturdy and stalwart Khan. The latter was warned by astrologers of his failure, but he rightly paid no heed to their prophecies. During the march to Javli there were ill omens. These too were passed unheeded. His advisers dissuaded him from going to Javli, but he reprimanded them for their pussilanimity. He thought that without fighting any battle he would be the master of the ancient town and castle of Javli, that Shivaji would come into his clutches and be captured or despatched forthwith. Therefore, he accepted whatever terms were demanded by the Maratha leader.

Afzal might have been convinced by the diplomatic manœuvres of Shivaji that the latter was absolutely ready to submit to him and crave pardon for his past deeds. The purpose of the war would be fulfilled by an interview alone.

Shivaji was naturally unwilling to go to Wai for being murdered in cold blood and be unable to take revenge for the deed. He was anxious to entrap Afzal and his army in the valley of Javli, so that from the thick and wild forests his wild men should fall, if need be, upon the armed or unarmed Muslim forces and prevent their escape through the impenetrable forests. He succeeded in enticing them into his trap by his superior diplomacy. He cut roads through the thick forests and treated them right royally all along the route. He gave them a sumptuous feast after their arrival on the banks of the river Koina. He pitched up a very beautiful Mandap for the reception of the general. The latter sent a party to reconnoitre the place and to examine the Mandap, and was satisfied that no treachery was designed against him. Thus his suspicions were fully removed and he consented to enter the pavilion with two attendants only, while ten picked body-guards

were stationed outside the pavilion. He first advanced with 1,000 or 1,500 men to the place of the meeting, but was told that this was against the stipulations. Therefore, they were left on the slope of Pratapgarh at the distance of a bowshot. According to Chitnis, they were stationed at different places on the way. Thus he had taken precautions for his safety and for an eventual coup on the castle by placing his men near him ready to rush in time of need.

7. The Khan was the first to strike the blow:— Having come to know that he was to be either captured or murdered, Shiva took all the precautions to prevent both these acts. He was even justified in attacking his enemy at the first chance. By giving him time he might have been attacked first and thus the whole game would have been lost. But he was not the first to strike the first blow. The Khan with a giant's strength was impatient to end the war by killing the small and slender youth.

The Hindu writers are unanimous that Afzal Khan was the first to take the offensive (Shivaji Vol. I, p. 51), while the Muslim historians and their European followers blame Shivaji for the same, but no Muhammedan present at the tragic scene escaped alive. The general impression must have been that Afzal Khan was treacherously killed. That version became popular and therefore was repeated by every traveller and historian afterwards. In our own day we find that Germany was charged with the war-guilt by almost all the nations, but she has persistently protested against the charge.

(1) It is said that Afzal Khan did not seem to have taken any precautions to protect his person. He did not wear any steel armour under his clothes just as Shivaji had done, and that (2) his attendants and generals were not instructed to be ready to take action in the event of treachery. In my opinion, he was over confident in his success in despatching Shivaji during the interview and in capturing the fort with 1,500 body-guards, so that he did not think it necessary to take any more precautions. His army was

taking rest and amusing itself, so that it was attacked unawares from all sides by the Marathas.

Shivaji took all precautions for his defence and for the destruction of the enemy's army. He even received the blessings of the Goddess Bhawani for his success in murdering Afzal Khan, provided he was perfidiously attacked.

The Khan wss proud of his strength. He was fully convinced that he could easily overpower the young man at the interview, that his death or capture would so utterly confuse his leaderless followers that a picked force of 1,500 would suffice to crush the handful of Marathas in the fort. He over-estimated his personal and military strength, and was ignorant of the Maratha forces which lay concealed in the surrounding forests.

If Shivaji merely wanted to murder Afzal Khan even at the place of meeting, he could have easily done it through his hidden men. The Chitragupta Ch. says that he kept forty heroes hidden in a subterranean cell in the Mandap. He could have given them a sign to fall upon Afzal and cut him to pieces just before his appearance on the scene. Why should he have at all endangered his own life in an interview wherein the issue was doubtful and the odds were against him? It is, therefore, evident that he came fully prepared for the worst, but not for treacherously murdering the Khan.

J. Kareena records that Afzal tightly caught hold of Shivaji's neck under his arm and struck him with a dagger. Having been thus attacked Shivaji used his tiger-claws and opened his bowels. The same version is found in the Sh. Bharata and Sabhasad Chronicle (Patwardhan's S. Bk. Pp. 73, 79). The use of the Waghnuck or tiger-claws is extremely doubtful. He used the dagger and the sword. This point has been discussed by me in my book Shahji[1] (p. 23).

1. 91 Qulmi Bakhar, Shiva Bharat. Rairi Bakhar, Fryer, Khafi Khan, Manucci and the English letters mention the use of the dagger and not of the Waghnukh. Therefore this weapon was not held in his hand by Shivaji.

In short, Shivaji murdered the Khan in self-defence, but the Muslims represented this as a treacherous murder. They were the rulers of the day. The Maratha leader was known as an arch rebel, a disturber of the peace of the Muslim kingdoms. Hence their version was accepted by the contemporaries. The belief of the people was confirmed by the secret surprise of Shaista Khan and the sudden invasion of Surat. The contemporary European writers describing the incident of Afzal Khan, merely followed the popular version of the ruling classes. Their hearsay opinion is not a biblical truth, and need not be taken seriously by us.

CHAPTER V

Civil Administration

1. Extent of Shivaji's Empire:—A glance at the map opposite p. 265 of Vol. II will show that Shivaji's kingdom included the following parts :

(A) *Swaraj*- (1) A long strip of territory on the Western coast of India from the Northern confines of Dharampur or Ramnagar State to the boundary of Bednur with the exception of Bombay, Janjira and the Portuguese possessions.

(2) All the inland country including Baglan, part of Nasik, the districts of Thana, Kalyan, Kolaba, Poona, Satara, Gadag, Chitaldurg, Balapur, Kolar, Uskota, Vellore, Ginji, Arni, Bangalore and Shrirangpatam.

(3) On the Eastern or Coromandal Coast his sway extended over Porto Novo, Negapatam, Pondichery, and the territory of Tanjore, while the ruler of Madura acknowledged his suzerainty by paying tribute. Thus his kingdom bounded by the Tapti in the North extended to Rameshwaram in the South, while from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal it included the parts named above.

(B) *Chauth-paying territories*:—He used to collect the chauth from parts of Khandesh, Berars and the Central Provinces. The extent of this territory varied from time to time and the sums collected too depended upon the force used by his expeditionary army. Aurangzeb did not recognise his right of collecting the chauth. Therefore Shivaji gave Qauls[1] to the Mogul subjects who agreed to directly pay this contribution to him.

(C) *Tribute-paying states*—Then the states of Bijapur and Golconda used to pay him a tribute, but these were in no way feudatories of Shivaji or in any way subject to him. The tribute

1. Written assurances of immunity from Maratha attacks,

was really a friendly contribution for keeping the Moguls at an arm's length and for securing immunity from the predatory expeditions of the Marathas in these kingdoms.

An indefinite and indefinable overlordship extended over all those parts of the Mogul Empire and the Deccan states which paid chauth, or a tribute to Shivaji.

2. Administrative divisions— The country was divided into Subhas, Sarkars, Parganas, and Maujas both in the Mogul Empire and the Deccan states. Shivaji replaced this division by Prants, Tarafs and Maujas. But the old nomenclature continued to be used for a long time, hence there is much confusion in identifying territories. We read of Sarkar Koregaon in Prant Wai, Pargana Karad,[1] Subha Mamale Prabhavali,[2] Subha Dabhol or Mamala Dabhol.[3] There were in 1691 Sarsubhedari of Prant Moglai and Prant Bhaganagar, i. e., of territories captured from the Great Mogul and the Golconda kingdom.[4]

Military Circles and Civil Districts— According to Justice Ranade the civil territory held under the direct sway of Shivaji, was divided into seventeen districts. He took the list from Chitnis, but it was either wrongly read by him or his copy was defective.

(i) He has left off Chandi, Arni, Balapur, Phonda from the said list and added Karnatic as a district. Really it is 'Jagdevagad in the Karnatic.' Then follow the names of other districts in the above-mentioned list.[5]

(ii) Further, he gives six forts in the territory of Tanjore. Chitnis has these forts in the district of Chandi or Ginji and not under Tanjore. In fact, Chitnis does not give the number of forts under Tanjore and Arni. Only Chitragupta has named thirty-two forts in the Prants of Vellore, Chandi and Tanjore.

Thus the Prants mentioned by Chitnis and Chitragupta are with respect to the forts and not to the civil administration. In fact, the whole Konkan was divided into several civil districts. At

1—4. Raj. VIII, Pp. 20-21, 23, 39, 39, 40-41, 47.

5. Ranade. R. M. P., Pp. 117-118; Chitnis. Pp. 320-323.

least twelve Prants are mentioned in another list, but in Chitnis-[1] list Konkan is mentioned as one Prant.

The names of seventeen Military Circles with the number of forts under each are reproduced by us from Chitnis in the section on forts.

3. Civil Divisions:—The Mogul Emperor Farrukhseer granted the right of collecting chauth to Shahu. The extent of the country under him was mentioned in a list 'which was made according to the ancient rules as it was handed down from former times.'[2] Therefore, we can take this to be the extent of Shivaji's empire.

It appears that the Suba and Prant were interchangeable words. In Doc. 81 the names of eight 'Subas' are given.[3] Further on these are called Prants in this very document. In the list of hereditary estates of Ramchandra Pant Amatya,[4] we read of Sarkars Junner, Sangamner and Parande, but Poona, Panhala, Satara, Kadewalit, Miraj, etc., are mentioned as prants in this list. Therefore the civil districts of the time of Shivaji may be said to be the following :

	Civil Districts	No. of Tarafs or Talukas.[5]	
		Doc. 78 of Raj. VIII.	Zabta Swaraj
1.	Poona and Wai	12 Tarafs	10
2.	Maval	12	13
3.	Satara	6	6
4.	Karad	9	9
5.	Khatav	11	11
6.	Mandesh	6	6
7.	Malkapur	4	4
8.	Tarle	5	5
9.	Panhala	10	10
10.	Ajra	11	51 (?)
11.	Junner	13	24

1. Chitnis, p. 317.
2-4. Rajvade, VIII, docs. 78, 81, 122.
5. Trans. by Sen, Ad. S. M., pp. 95-96.

	Civil Districts	No. of Tarafs or Talukas.	
		Doc. 78 of Raj. VIII.	Zabta Swaraj
12.	Kolhapur	9	Not given
13.	Ramnagar	6	- do -
14.	Bhimgad	5	5
15.	Bhiwandi	17	20
16.	Kalyan	20	20
17.	Mahad	12	Not given
18.	Javli	18	18
19.	Rajapur	18	18
20.	Kole (Akole)	5	5
21.	Kudal	15	15
22.	Belgaon (misprint Malgaon)	)	
23.	Lakhameshwar	)	
24.	Gadag	)	
25.	Kopal	)	
26.	Halyal	) No. of Tarafs is not given.	
27.	Sampgaon	)	
28.	Bhujangad	)	
29.	Nargund (Nawalghund)	)	

Baramati and Indapur are named as Prants in the Zabta, but they are counted as Tarafs under Poona in the first list. Secondly, this list has Mahad in place of Betgiri in the Zabta.

It is said in the 78th Doc. that there were six more Prants, but their names are not mentioned. Miraj, Kadewalit, Hukeri (Doc. 81) might be three of these in Maharashtra. Besides these thirty-five districts, there were provinces of the Karnatic and Southern India included in the Swaraj. This new conquest was divided into six military circles. but the number of civil districts is not known.

It will be seen that Chitnis includes in the Military Circle of Thana such districts as Kalyan, Bhiyandi, Wai, Karad, Supe,

Khatav, Baramati, Miraj, Kolhapur, and three sub-districts. It is now evident that the names of 'Prants' mentioned by Chitnis were certainly not those of administrative districts. In my opinion, for military purposes the Swaraj was at one time divided into seventeen circles. The civil districts were surely different from these circles, though the word Prant has been loosely used for both. Each Prant was divided into Tarafs and each Taraf into Mahals and these into villages called Maujas and Kasbas. Sometimes a Prant had Subas and then Tarafs, as Suba Dabhol under Talkonkan.

4. **Civil officers**— The kingdom was divided into divisions, each under a Sarsubedar. He was also styled Sarkarkun or Mukhya Deshadhikari.

We read of Narhari Anandrao as Sarsubedar in the Konkan, probably with his capital at Kudal.[1] Moropant, Annaji Datto and Dattaji Anant are frequently mentioned as Sarkarkuns or Sarsubedars in the time of Shivaji.

Each Prant was put under a Subedar and a Karkun, while the Taraf was governed by a Havaldar. A few villages were put under the charge of a Kamavisdar. The nomenclature prevalent in Muslim governments for civil officers was continued in the Swaraj. There were regular establishments or offices for the work of the officers. Each Subedar had generally eight assistants in charge of various duties. They were Dewan, Muzumdar, Fadnis, Sabnis, Karkhanis, Chitnis, Jamadar and Potnis.[2]

We learn from Dr. Fryer who had an interview with the Subedar of Kalyan that in his office many Brahmans were busy in writing account books and there were present some officers who were consulted by him as members of his Privy Council. On account of the authority of such a council, a governor could not be very oppressive.

1. Raj. VIII, p. 22.
2. Sen, Ad. S. M., p. 97.

The administrative divisions can now be represented thus :

Division	—	Sarsubedar
Suba	—	Subedar
Pargana	—	Sarhavaldar and Vatandars
Taraf, Hawal or Mahal	—	Tarafdar, Hawaldar or Mahaldar
Union of villages	—	Kamavisdar
Mauza and Kasaba	—	Patil
Peth		Sethe Mahajan

A Subedar was named Deshadhikari and a Sarsubedar, Mukhya-Deshadhikari, while the Karkun was called Lekhak and the Sarkarkun, Mukhya-Lekhak. The Sanskrit names introduced by Shivaji did not become popular. Through the force of custom old names continued to be used even in official documents.

5. Dr. Fryer on Maratha Administration:—A gloomy picture of the administration of Muslim and Maratha countries depicted by Dr. Fryer should be read on p. 145 of Vol. II. His experience was very much limited and he was bitterly prejudiced against the Grand Rebel. One can hardly believe that the Brahman officers tore the flesh of their brother officers with red-hot pincers and applied other tortures to extract money from them.

It is possible that some officers guilty of corruption and extortion might have been tortured to extract confession. Otherwise Shivaji did not oppress Brahmans.

These were under his special protection. (i) He was therefore given the title of the "Protector of Cows and Brahmans." (ii) He was adored as an Avatar of Vishnu who had taken birth for uprooting the barbarians and for establishing the Hindu religion. (iii) He never molested Brahmans even in his looting expeditions. (iv) At the time of Afzal Khan's murder when Shivaji was attacked by the Brahmin envoy, he refused to use his weapons against him

and asked him not to take advantage of his position as a Brahman. (v) Docs. 24 of 1671 and 30 of 1674 in Rajwade VIII bring out the principle of immunity of Brahmans from death.[1]

Fryer himself admits that Brahmans alone were put in places of trust and authority.[2] The whole hierarchy of civil officers was composed of Brahmans. Hence it is incredible that these very men would use inhuman means of torture against men of their own class.

While Fryer condemns the Maratha administration, he frankly admits that it was not an exception to the general rule. All contemporary governments were of the same type. "This is the accustomed Sawce all India over, the Princes doing the same by the Governors, when removed from their offices, to squeeze their ill-got Estates out of them; which when they have done; it may be they may be employed again; the Great Fish prey, on the Little, as well by land as by Sea, bringing not only them, but their Families into Eternal Bondage."[3]

The Dutch have given a glimpse of the oppressive administration prevalent in the Bijapur state. "Each Governor takes the appearance of being a king, and after having committed divers crimes by robbing, murdering, burning and devastating the land to their hearts' content, they appear at court, where they are praised for being brave soldiers, if they know how to oil His Majesty's palm. This practice is daily increasing more and more and has taken so very deep a root that the king (who is simply adorned with the crown) is unable to prevent this."[4] On another occasion the Dutch factors reported that the government of this country was so unsettled and tyrannous that it was impossible to commit it to paper.

Tavernier, Bernier, Manucci and other travellers have condemned the Mogul administration in unambiguous terms. But the standard of Shivaji's administration must have been much.

1. Raj. VIII, pp. 20, 26.
2. Shivaji, Vol. II, p. 145.
3—4. Shivaji, Vol. I, pp. 503, 554, Vol. II, p. 146.

superior to other governments on account of the important reforms introduced by him.

6. Administrative reforms of Shivaji—

1. *Hereditary posts as exceptions*— Shivaji attacked the radical cause of mal-administration by not conferring hereditary jagirs and posts. Yet he was considerate in not discontinuing the Watans of the Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Kulkarnis, etc., or in abolishing religious endowments existent from his predecessors. He reduced the powers of the fief-holders. In a few cases he was compelled to confer hereditary grants and posts on account of the very meritorious services performed by a few officers.

(1) Krishnaji Bhaskar was awarded a jagir for his meritorious service in the murder of Afzal Khan. (2) Babaji Baji was conferred jagir and the commandantship of all the forts held by his gallant father Baji Prabhu, the Leonidas of India, in lieu of the glorious service of his immortal father.[2] (3) The four Kolis who chose the place for building the Sindhudurg at Malwan were given hereditary grants of villages for their signal service in 1664.[3] (4) Ramchandra Pant, the conqueror of Fort Purandar from the Moguls, was given hereditary Sabnisi of the famous Sindhudurg Fort. (5) Balaji Avaji, his personal secretary, was granted hereditary secretaryship. (6) Koyaji Bandhal was granted lands for his brave exploit in Shaista's surprise.[4] (7) His brother Vyankoji and his sister-in-law Dipabai were granted hereditary jagirs and so was their Minister and Shivaji's Viceroy Raghunathpant favoured with Inams in the Karnatic.[5] (8) Villages were granted in Inam to the Brahmans attached to the famous temples of the holy places of the Karnatic.[6] (9) Hambirrao Mohite, Santaji Ghorpade, Bahirji Ghorpade were granted jagirs.[7] (10) The Ramdasi Maths of Chafal and Parli were granted villages for their expenses. Some of these continue up to this day. In a grant of 1677 there is a mention of eleven villages, 121 candies cereals, and 1100 pagodas having been given to the Chafal Math.

1. Shivaji, Vol. II, p. 288; Vak. 146.
2. Vak. 80.
3. Chitragupta Ch. P. 132.
4. No. 63 Q, of B. I. S. M.
5. Shivaji, Vol. II, 289.
6 & 7. Vak. 153, 130.

Such instances are few and far between. In the long period of 35 years from 1646 to 1680, Shivaji selected only a few persons for Inams out of the thousands of brave commanders and famous statesmen. This fact decidedly proves that these were exceptions to the general rule. In fact, we do not find the great men of this period founding families with hereditary lands. Netaji Palkar, Prataprao Gujar, Hambirao Mohite, Moro Pant Pingle, Dattaji Pant, Annaji Datto and host of other officers may be quoted as such instances.

No new Inams— Ramchandra Pant proceeds to argue against the grant of new Inams.

"Hereditary estates should not be granted as this method leads to a great injustice. Only an enemy of his kingdom should be generous in granting Inams. This method would result one day in granting away the whole kingdom. All the evils pointed out above in the case of Vrittis invariably occur here. Therefore a king should not at all get infatuated and grant land to the extent of even a barley corn." One of his ablest ministers has thus described the evils of granting new pensions, Vrittis, and Inams, but at the same time he has prohibited kings from confiscating the ancient grants. In his opinion it is a great sin to confiscate any Vritti, hence it should neither he handed over to another nor be appropriated by the king himself. Even when a heinous crime is committed by the holder of a Vritti, his case should be decided according to the dictates of the Shastras. The main reasons advanced by him for not granting Vrittis may be said to be these :

(*a*) Public revenue is reduced by such grants. It leads to the loss of the prosperity and therefore to the decay of the kingdom.

(*b*) Such grants result in the increase of taxes which oppress the people. "To cause affliction to a large number of people for the sake of one carries its own curse."

(*2*) *Selection of officers*—The devotion of officers to Shivaji was simply remarkable, although they were not given hereditary

posts and Jagirs. It was his personal charm, ever-smiling face, amiable manners, generosity, bravery, genius, resourcefulness, and humour which turned his foes into friends and devoted servants ever ready to lay down their lives for their master. The illustrious names of Moropant, Balaji Avji, Ramchandra Pant, Baji Prabhu, Murar Baji, Prataprao Gujar, Tanaji Malsure, Frangoji Narsala and a host of others can be written in letters of gold in the Maratha history.

The main cause of this devotion may be said to be the recruitment and dismissal of officers by Shivaji himself. They were directly responsible to him. The feudal system had been abolished, and the central government had been strengthened by all possible means. Every officer was anxious to please the Raja by his devoted service.

It is remarkable that even soldiers in the standing army were appointed with his approval. He had the genius to find out the true merits of his men and to give them sufficient scope to show their talents. He imposed full confidence in them, and they invariably proved faithful to him. Aurangzeb lived in an atmosphere of mistrust, suspicion, intrigue and faction. He sent on every expedition two commanders who generally envied and mistrusted each other. They were often faithless, venal and rapacious. Shivaji took full advantage of this weakness. He bombarded these officers with gold bullets. Jaswant Singh, Prince Muazzam and Bahadur Khan have been mentioned several times in this respect. The Bijapur generals were no better. Rustam Zaman and Siddi Jauhar are well-known examples. The commandants of several forts were bribed to give up the same to Shivaji. Not a single instance is recorded of a Maratha officer who gave up a fort to the enemy for the sake of money. On the other hand, Shivaji's officers were devoutly attached to him.

(3) The third reform was *the frequent transfer of officers* from place to place, so that they should not create vested interests there, and the people should not suffer from their autocracy.

(4) The fourth means to improve the administration *was frequent inspection-tours.* He himself and his ministers often used to go on tours of inspection. The necessity for such tours has been briefly stated by the Raja himself. "No kingdom can be preserved long without constant touring and attention. For watching over the peasantry, strengthening the forts, and putting down oppressors it is necessary (for the ruler) to tour in his kingdom."[1] We read of Abaji Pant having gone on a tour of inspection before the death of Shivaji. Abaji Pant and Annaji Datto were, on another occasion, appointed to inspect the forts.

(5) The fifth means to systematize the government was the drawing up of an elaborate *code of rules* by Shivaji's order. The Tarikh-i-Shivaji records that 'after he had satisfied himself about the regulation of the revenue and the administration, he called for the records of all the lands in his possession and inspected them.'[2]

(6) The sixth reform may be said to be *the removal of differences among officers* and nobles by uniting their families by marital ties. For instance, Moro Pant Peshwa's daughter was given to Prahlad Pant, son of Niraji Pant (Vak. 131). His own marriages with ladies belonging to distinguished Maratha nobles were for political reasons. The marriage of Rajaram with the daughters of the two commanders-in-chief shows the same policy.

(7) The seventh cause of the good adminstriation is the *employment of all classes* in the service of the state. The educated classes of the time consisting of the Brahmans, Prabhus, Saraswats were entrusted with the civil and military administration by the Raja. The illiterate people of all castes and perferably the Marathas were recruited as soldiers. Thus the masses and classes of Maharashtra were filled with his ideals and enthusiasm to promote and perpetuate the stability and prosperity of the swaraj.

(8) The eighth cause of improved administration was *Shiva's exemplary life.* He did not allow any officer, companion or favourite of his to oppress the ryots.[3] There was no circle of

1—3. Vak. Pp., 130, 131, 151, 153.

sycophants surrounding Shivaji. He never wasted his time in idle gossips, hunting, racing, drinking, luxury, profligacy. He lived a life of rigorous discipline, exemplary simplicity, and high ideals. He devoted all his time, energy and resources to the protection and prosperity of his kingdom.

(9) Shivaji recognized that the essential requisites of efficient government were the spirit of responsibility and the feeling of security of tenure. Consequently he devised means to vouchsafe these by the adoption of council government and the continuation of the services of efficient officers.

(10) Lastly, Shivaji put a stop to corruption among officers by giving them high salaries.

7. Growth of the Executive Council — Shivaji was put under the guardianship of D. Konddeva and given four experienced administrators who formed his advisory council from 1642. These were Sham Rao Nilkanth as Peshwa, Balkrishna Pant Hanmante as Mujumdar, Sono Pant as Dabir and Raghunath Ballal as Sabnis.

They were confirmed in their posts even after the death of Konddeva in 1649. In that very year Shiva created the post of the Sarnobat or commander of the army. It was filled by Tukoji Chor Maratha. Some time after the latter was replaced by Mankoji Dahatonde. After the conquest of Javli in 1655, four new posts were created and filled up as follows:

Nilo Sondeva was appointed Surnis; Gangaji Mangaji, Vaknis; Prabhakar Bhat, Upadhyaya; and Yesaji Kank, commander of the infantry. Dahatonde was replaced by Netaji Palkar as commander-in-chief. The year of his appointment cannot be traced with certainty.

The title of Panditrao was conferred upon Raghunath Rao[1] Korde who was sent as an envoy to Raja Jaisingh for negotiating

1. Sen. Sh. Chh. 51. On p. 59 he is called Korde and brother-in-law of Sonaji Pant Dabir.

peace in 1665 and was afterwards deputed to Aurangzeb himself. Raghunath was included among the councillors called together by Shiva to consider the crisis during his imprisonment at Agra, and he was sent to Jafar Khan, the Mogul Premier.[1] On his return from Agra he was made chief superintendent of public works and another R. Balal Atre was made a Subha of cavalry. [2]

Narahari Anandrao was appointed Peshwa in 1661. He was succeeded by Mahadeva Matimant in 1662 and in that year Moro Trimal or Trimbak was appointed. He continued in the post till the death of Shivaji. We have documents with the seals of Samaraj and Mahadeva, but none of Narahari has as yet been recovered.[3]

It is rather strange that there are four grants of the years 1671 and 1673 bearing the seal of Mahadeva Matimant Pradhan.[4] There is one letter of 1662 June and another of 1668 Oct. bearing the same seal.

In 1668 Nilopant Sondeva was appointed Mujumdar in place of Hanmante, and Annaji Pant as Surnis.[5]

At that time the new office of chief justice was created and it was filled by Niraji Pant who is described as an intelligent Nizamshahi Brahman. He accompanied Shiva to Agra and was one of the four heroes who formed the small party of the Raja during his long flight from Agra to Rajgad.

After the death of Gangaji Vaknis, the post was filled by Dattaji Pant, another hero of the romantic flight. He was reckoned as one of the councillors. The royal household troops were put under the able command of Ragho[6] Mitra, the third hero of the thrilling escape.

Nilo Sondev was succeeded in his office in 1672 by his two

1. Sen, Sh. Chh. Pp. 61, 64-65. 2. Chitnis, 171.
3 & 4. Sh. Ch. S. II, Nos. 219, 253-55, 346 of Jan. 1662.
5. Chit. 169; Sen, Sh. Chh., 72. Raj. VIII, Doc. 10.
6. Chit., 172.

sons Naro Pant and Ramchandra Pant, but the latter alone who was considered to be a thousand times better than his father, was entrusted with the work of Muzumdar.[1]

Sometime before the coronation the post of Dharmadhikari was also created. It was filled by the two brothers Raghunath Bhat and Balam Bhat.[2]

The number of the councillors was augmented after the coronation by the addition of the two ministers of Vyankoji Raje. They were Raghunath Narayan and Janardhan Narayan. There is no information as to the offices filled by them. They might be ministers without portfolios,[3] as they have been called Sarkarkuns.

Shivaji changed their Persian titles to Sanskrit and specified the duties of the eight councillors and other departmental heads. Thus a portfolio system was introduced on the basis of the Sukraniti. The names and duties were largely adopted from Sukra's Polity.

In the king's cabinet the Chief Priest and the Chief Justice are included by Sukra and the same was done by the crowned king of the Marathas.

These Sanskrit names, however, did not become popular, so that even in the official letters written after the coronation the old names and the old Persian era persisted.

The Chronicles make special mention of the council meetings at such crises as the invasions of Afzal Khan, Shaista Khan and Jaisingh, and during Shiva's imprisonment at Agra. Therefore the council did not come into existence after the coronation. Shivaji used to consult his ministers from the beginning of his rule.[4]

It has been seen that the executive council had been growing up from time to time with the extension of administrative needs.

1. Sen, Sh. Chh. 108.
2. Chitnis, 170.
3. Sen, Sh. Chh. 110, 119, 122.
4. Sen. Sh. Chh. 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 13, 41, 49, 64.

It assumed its final form of Eight Councillors (Ashta Pradhans) at the coronation. The old and new names of the posts and the names of their occupants are given in a tabular form.

	Post	Sabhasad Ch.
1.	Pradhan (Peshwa)	Moro Pant Trimbak
2.	Amatya (Mujumdar)	Naro Nilkanth and Ramchandra Nilkanth
3.	Senapati (Sar Lashkar)	Hambirrao Mohite
4.	Sachiva (Surnis)	Annaji Pant
5.	Mantri (Vaknis)	Dattaji Trimbak
6.	Rajadhyaksh or Dharmadhyaksh or Panditrao	Raghunath Panditrao
7.	Sumant (Dabir)	Ramchandra Trimbak
8.	Nyayadhisha	Niraji Ravji
9.	Chitnis	Bal Prabhu
10.	Daftardar	Nila Prabhu Parasnis

The names of the first six ministers are the same in the three chronicles. The post of Chief Justice was filled by Niraji Ravji, but according to Chitnis the occupant was Balaji Sonopant. Then the post of Dabir or Sumant was held by Janardan Hanmante according to Chitnis, while Chitragupta gives the name of Trimbak Sondeva. It is a pity that the name of the Dabir is not given by Oxinden, and hence the difference in the names given by the three Bakhars for the holders of this post, cannot be removed.

8. Duties of the Ministers:—Their duties specified by the Law Code (Qanunzabta) and Chitnis have been summarized below. The *Peshwa* was in charge of the whole administration of the kingdom. He was to work with the counsel and co-operation of his colleagues. In times of war he was to bravely lead the army, subjugate new kingdoms and make necessary arrangements for the administration of the newly-acquired territories. All state papers and charters had to bear his seal below that of the king.

1. Sen, Sh. Chh. P. 116; Chitnis, 311, 331; Chitrag. Chronicle, 103.

The *Senapati* (Commander-in-Chief) should properly maintain the army, make war and lead expeditions. He should preserve the newly-acquired territories, render an account of the sports, report to the king the requirements and grievances of the army, and obtain lands and rewards for the meritorious.

The *Amatya* (Finance Minister) should look after the income and expenditure of the whole kingdom and submit it to the Raja after auditing it. He should put his seal on all official letters and on the accounts of income and expenditure of the Mahals and the whole kingdom.

The *Sachiv* (Accountant General) should see that all royal letters were properly drafted. He had to check the accounts of the Mahals and Parganas. He had to put his seal on all royal papers as a sign of his approval. He was also to serve in war and lead armies.

The *Mantri* (Political Secretary) was to conduct the political and diplomatic affairs of the kingdom. The invitation and intelligence departments were under him. He was also to serve in war. His seal was to be put on official documents.

The *Sumant* (Foreign Secretary) was in charge of foreign affairs, war and peace. He was to receive and entertain foreign envoys and maintain the dignity of the state abroad. He was also to serve in war and put his seal on state documents.

The *Panditrao* (the Royal Priest) was to have jurisdiction over all religious affairs. He was to honour scholars, Brahmans and religious men. He was to get all religious ceremonies performed in due time. He was to put his sign of approval on all papers relating to custom, conduct and penances.

The *Nyayadhish* (the Chief Justice) was to righteously decide all disputes about occupations and lands with the co-operation of officers and learned Brahmans. He was to put his signature on all judgment papers.

9. Principles underlying ministerial government— It is worth noticing that all ministers were Brahmans, only the Chief

Commander was Maratha by caste. But all of them except the last two had to take the command of armies. Besides three of the ministers were Governors in charge of divisions, while the provinces or Subas were under Subedars.

These ministers fully enjoyed the confidence of their master and were continued in their posts up to the end of his regime.

It speaks volumes of the genius, patience, spirit of compromise of Shivaji that he should have continued the same officers on the same posts for years together. In case of proved inability, he removed the ministers as the Peshwa Mahadeva and the commander-in-chief Netaji Palkar, otherwise Moro Trimbak continued Peshwa for eighteen years up to the death of the great king. No change was made in the chief command of the army except on account of death. There was no re-shuffling of the cabinet from the coronation up to the death of the illustrious king.

Secondly, he did not make these offices hereditary as they were done afterwards by the Peshwas.

Thirdly, these officers were not given any jagirs, but salaries were paid to them in cash from the treasury. They had nothing to do with revenue collection and could not oppress the ryots on account of their ministerial positions. Justice Ranade has rightly stated that "none of the great men, who distinguished themselves in Shivaji's time, were able to hand over to their descendants large landed estates."

Fourthly, each of them was severally responsible for his portfolio, so far so that his secretary had the right to carry on the administration in the name of the chief.

Fifthly, they were jointly responsible in carrying on the administration. All important papers required the signatures of the ministers in charge of the civil administration, such as the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, the Financial Secretary, the Home Secretary and the Foreign Minister. The judicial decisions were signed by the Chief Justice alone and the Ecclesiastical

decisions by the Minister in charge of the department, while the army-papers were submitted to the chief commander. The Law Code (Qanunzābtā) and the Chitragupta Chronicle both lay down this rule of the circulation of important papers and the approval or disapproval of the five ministers. We have no papers on the working of the cabinet, but the ministers and in their absence the secretaries must have been meeting frequently to discuss important matters, so that they could put their seals of approval on them. That the treaty with the English was signed by all the ministers, has been recorded by their envoy, Mr. Oxenden. Grants bore the seals of the Raja and the Prime Minister.

10. The salaries of the Ministers:—Chitnis (Pp. 342-43) has given the following scale of salaries to the various officers.

Prime Minister	—	15,000 Hons.
Amatya	—	12,000 „
Every other minister	—	10,000 „
Balaji Avji Chitnis	—	6,000 „
Chimnaji Avji Phadnis	—	3,000 „
Officers in charge of 18 Karkhanas and 12 Mahals	—	500 to 100 Hons.
Military Commander	—	5000 to 4000 „
Subordinate Officers	—	200 to 15 „

The salaries of the ministers and the personal secretaries were very high. Fifty thousand to 75,000 rupees were paid to the cabinet ministers. Taking into account the value of money in those days, these salaries when expressed in to-day's rupee, seem to be excessively high. Thus peculation and corruption were cut at the roots.

11. The personal staff of the king— The private secretary of Shivaji was the famous Balaji Avji or Bal Prabhu Chitnis and he was assisted by his brother Chimnaji Avji Phadnis and Nil Prabhu Parasnis. He used to submit all state papers to the Maharaja, was in charge of the private and personal correspondence of his royal master, and used to note down the hypnotic messages uttered

by Shivaji during his ecstatic moods. All letters conferring any kind of Inam or Qauls to villages, towns, provinces, and new markets; correspondence regarding jagirs and political intelligence, all passports, visas, and permits for opening Kothis; all orders regulating the prices of things, and many other spheres of administration were in his charge. He was also to supervise the working of the mint and of the department to supply royal drinks.[1]

His services proved to be so meritorious that Shivaji was pleased to confer the posts of the Chitnis, Karkhanis and Jamnis on him and his successors. It was the only exception of a hereditary post made by the Raja. High posts were conferred on the sons of the ministers but only when they showed exceptional intelligence and merit for the same. Prahlad Niraji, son of the Chief Justice Niraji was appointed ambassador at the court of Qutub Shah. Nilo (Naro) Pandit, son of Moropant Peshwa, enjoyed the confidence of the Raja as is evident from Oxenden's letters.

12. **Minor Departments**— A few public departments like the mint, treasury, P. W. D., artillery, ammunition, elephant corps, camel corps were each under a hierarchy of officers. There were other departments serving the personal needs of the royal household. The Sabhasad, Chitnis and Chitragupta chronicles[2] give the names of eighteen Karkhanas and twelve Mahals. There are minor differences in the names of these in the Marathi chronicles. But the list given by Sabhasad may be taken to be typical. The names of the Karkhanas are: treasury, jewel-store, granary, medicines, artillery, record department, wardrobe, armoury, kitchen, camel-corps, music house, gymnasium, elephant stables, carpets and other accessories, drinks, hunting, ammunition-magazine, and conservancy. Then follow twelve Mahals: treasury, purchase of merchandise, palanquins, warehouse, P. W. D., chariots, horse-stables, provision of comforts, the harem, cow-sheds, mint, and guards.

1. Sen, Ad. S. M. 64-71.
2. Sabhasad—Sen, Sh. Chh. 133, Chitnis, pp. 170-71, Chitra., p.120,

The Hindu kings possessed these institutions from very early times. Kautilya has given detailed information on the nature and scope of many of these departments. The names and duties changed with circumstances, but the fundamental institutions remained alive through ages, till they were adopted by Muslim kings. The Ain-i-Akbari supplies information about the departments possessed by Akbar, the Great Mogul.

The detailed list of articles which were found in store at the time of the death of Shivaji, brings out the real significance of the existence of such departments. It is worth noticing that Shivaji had departments to look after the manufacture of guns, cannon, gunpowder, and various kinds of arms, weapons, cloths and carpets.

There were separate departments for managing the affairs of cows, horses, camels, and elephants.

For physical culture and recreation gymnasium and hunting arrangements were provided. The household needs were looked after by the departments of Zanana, kitchen, drinks, medicines, wardrobe, granary, carpet-making, provision of comforts, warehouse, chariots, palanquins, guards, etc. Each one of these departments was managed by its officers under the supervision of one of the Councillors. Thus Shivaji had not to directly manage any department. He was free to control the policy, to appoint officers and to test the working efficiency of the departments.

Finally, we should examine the nature and powers of Shivaji's Council of Eight.

13. Comparison of the Astha Pradhans to the Executive Council:- The assertion of the late Justice Ranade that Shivaji's council resembled the Executive Council of the Governor General of India, is not based on facts. There is no real resemblance between the two councils. (1) The Councillors are appointed by the King-Emperor and are irremovable by the Governor General. Shivaji was free to choose and remove his ministers according to his sweet will. (2) All important questions are decided by a majority of votes, the

Governor General enjoys a casting vote. He can veto the decision of his Council, but is required by law to put down in writing his reasons for rejecting the decision of the majority. Similarly, every Councillor has got the right to note his reasons for the advice given by him. All the papers are sent to the Secretary of State for India. For all these reasons the Governors General have very rarely used their vetoing power. The Government of India is a council-government in name and deed, but Shivaji was an autocratic king with no restrictions upon his powers by his ministers. (3) These Councillors are not required to take command of armies, nor do they work as governors of provinces and councillors at the same time. (4) There is no question of caste and creed among the Viceroy's Councillors. Shivaji's cabinet consisting of seven Brahmans and one Maratha Commander-in-Chief, signified the supremacy of Brahmans.

Thus there are radical differences between the two Councils. Yet it must be noted that in the presidential form of government prevalent in the U. S. A., the ministers work as secretaries of the head of the state. Being appointed and dismissed by him at his discretion, they are not his colleagues but his subordinates. However, a sense of responsibility is maintained among them by having their signatures on important papers. This practice adopted by Shivaji acted as a check upon his autocratic powers and infused a sense of responsibility in the ministers. The people too respected them as the colleagues of the Raja, because no important orders could be issued without the signature of the minister in charge and even of a few other ministers. The principles of collective and individual responsibility of ministers to the ruler were partially recognized by the system adopted by Shivaji.

CHAPTER VI

The Military System

1. Evils of the Muslim military system— The administrative reforms secured peace, prosperity, and progress in the Maratha Swaraj. These could be maintained only by a most efficient military organization. The feudal armies of the Deccan Sultans and the Mogul Emperors were expensive and inefficient instruments of warfare. In these volumes we have sufficient side-lights on the evils of the contemporary military systems.

(i) The feudal lords were given extensive territories for the upkeep of the armies. Being anxious to enrich themselves in the shortest possible time, they resorted to unbridled terror, oppression and exploitation. The ryots were left to their minions who like vultures ate away the possessions of the poor.

(ii) The nobles were often disloyal to the ruler and secretly allied themselves with his enemies. The instances of Rustam Zaman, Bahlol Khan, Bahadur Khan and others joining Shivaji are frequently found.

(iii) These lords were mutually fighting and even secretly murdering each other. The assassination of Jadhavrao, Khawas Khan, Murari Pandit, Siddi Jauhar, Ikhlas Khan, Sher Khan, and another Khawas Khan, Khizar Khan, are some of the instances mentioned in the volumes.

(iv) The feudal armies did not consist of properly trained and equipped soldiers, but these were levies of haphazardly recruited soldiers, with whatever arms and horses were possessed by them, Such a militia poorly clad, ill armed, badly trained, and full of mercenary spirit did not fight for the defence of the flag, religion or country. These soldiers could be no match to a trained army fighting for religious and national ideals.

(v) The feudal armies were officered by untrained men who were not actuated by higher motives. They wanted to save their

skins. Bernier [1] rightly observed that the Mogul Omrahs were mostly adventurers from different nations, and persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves. The king was surrounded by slaves, ignorant and brutal; parasites raised from the dregs of society; strangers to loyalty and patriotism; full of insufferable pride, and destitute of courage, of honour and of decency. Hence these could be easily bought off or defeated by the national armies of Shivaji.

(vi) Dependence upon cavalry and elephants was the mainstay of the system. Both these arms were useless in the rugged and mountainous regions of Maharashtra.

(vii) The extension of the Jagir system and its concomitant evil of defrauding the state in the strength of the militia to be kept by each mansabdar, adversely affected the efficiency of the army.

(viii) An immense amount of money was needed for an incredibly large army which was maintained for keeping the people in subjection. Then an enormous sum was required to maintain the splendour of the royal court. The people were subjected to an indescribable oppression. In the words of Bernier "in the Indies the gold and silver disappear in consequence of the tyranny of Timariots, Governors, and Revenue contractors - a tyranny which even the monarch, if so disposed, has no means of controlling in provinces not contiguous to his capital - a tyranny often so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life, and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion - a tyranny owing to which those wretched people either have not children at all, or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation, and to die at a tender age-a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched home to some neighbouring state." [2]

(ix) The Mogul camps were slowly moving cities with all the encumbrances of women, children, beasts of burden, and a numerous host of servants to look to the comforts of the men of all ranks from the officers down to the ordinary trooper. Vivid

1—2. Travels in the Mogul Empire, pp. 212, 226, 230.

descriptions of the march of the armies are given by Tavernier, Bernier, Manucci, and others. An interesting account of the march of Shaista Khan's army and its plight by the guerilla tactics of the Maratha army [1] bring out the weakness of the Mogul and the strength of the Maratha army. Small kingdoms could be easily conquered by sheer numbers and inexhaustible resources of the Mogul empire. Shivaji had the extraordinary genius to realize the ills of the Muslim armies and to take full advantage of these by his novel and effective military organization.

The founder of the Maratha Empire fully realized the serious defects of the feudal levies and therefore he overhauled the whole military machine. His army consisted of the royal guards, cavalry, infantry, militia, elephant corps and camel corps. The forts formed a most crucial factor of the strength of the military machine. Lastly, the navy and merchant marine were added to the land forces.

Each one of these will be separately taken up to give a detailed view of the working and of the reforms introduced by Shivaji, the great military genius of the time.

2. **Royal Bodyguards**— Shivaji soon realized the importance of possessing special troops to protect his body and to be of prime support to him in times of emergency. For this purpose only those who were brave, strong, obedient and faithful were personally selected by him. While inspecting the country, the army or the forts, he was on the lookout for such men that their very name would inspire terror and admiration in the army and the people. These tried men were to be employed for the protection of the Raja's person and as guards at the gates of the royal residence and court. They formed a fourfold force of musketeers, spearmen, light-armed men, and artillery men in both the cavalry and infantry.[2] The vital importance of this force is pointed out by Ramachandra in his Polity. Very strict discipline was to be kept among these troops. No weakness was to be shown in punishing indiscipline and treachery in them out of any consideration.

1. Shivaji, Part II, 77-80.
2. Sen, Sh. Chh. 76-77; Ramachandra, Polity, Pp. 20-22,

There were six different units of these Pataks (Body-guards) consisting of 100, 60 A and 60 B, 40, 30, and 20 soldiers and known by these numbers. The special force consisted of two thousand to two thousand and five hundred men. They were given by the government uniforms consisting of embroidered turbans for the head, jackets of broadcloth for the body, two gold bracelets for the hands, gold and silver rings to be put on their sword-sheaths, silver-rings for the guns and spears, and a pair of ear-rings for themselves. These were put under the charge of Jumledars and a Hazari officer. Whenever the Raja went out, they used to march on four sides of his palanquin or horse.

We have a view of these troops in the picture given by Manucci.[1] The Raja is shown on the march. His personal troops are clothed in a uniform of long togas stuffed with cotton. Each one of them has got a Tilak on the forehead probably to signify his readiness to die for the king.

The extraordinary alertness and bravery of one of his bodyguards was shown in cutting off the hand and head of the assassin at Surat when he made a dastardly attack on the Raja. Another view of the march of the army is given by the Rajapur Englishmen when they waited to meet Shivaji on the way. They saw abundance of horse and foot and 150 palanquins carrying him and his officers. It is a pity that the English factors were so much engrossed in their immediate business that they did not at all describe the Maratha army.[2]

A Dutch factor who had the honour of several times speaking with the Golconda Sultan, was an eye-witness of the visit of Shivaji to that city in August 1676. The Raja is said to retire in a litter embellished on every side with sheets of massive gold accompained by eight outriders and 30 chaise-bearers. This Dutchman records that Shivaji had no doubt of the fidelity of his troops and especially of his bodyguards. He testifies to the discipline in the Maratha army in these words: "Whilst they

1-2. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 32, 56-60.

(the Sultan and Shivaji) were thus talking, the place was surrounded by 6,000 cavalry who approached so silently that the buzzing of a fly could have been heard. It was thus that the brigand made known to the world that like a second Masaniello he was as much beloved as respected by his subjects."[1]

3. State Cavalry and Militia— The cavalry was of two types:— (1) the Paga belonging to the state, and (2) the Siledars or horsemen possessing their own horses as well as arms, but accepting service under the state for some time. The state-cavalry was organized in units of 25 troopers who were under an expert Maratha Hawaldar. Each unit had a water-carrier and a farrier attached to it. Five Hawalas made up a Jumla and its officer was a Jumledar. Ten Jumlas consisting of 1,250 troopers made up a Hazar (Thousand). The commander was styled a Hazari. His office-establishment consisted of a Brahman Mujumdar, a Maratha Secretary, a Prabhu Jamnis and a number of clerks. A group of five Hazaris was commanded by a Panch Hazari, an officer possessing the title of Five Thousand. Three civil officers of the above-mentioned titles were also attached to him. All the Panch Hazari generals were directly under the Sarnaubat or Commander-in-Chief.

Each battalion of 1,250 horsemen had newswriters or Vaknis (Vaq'navis), couriers and spies. All these were appointed by the Commander-in-Chief. The chief officer of the Detectives was the famous Bahirji Jadhav of a thousand exploits.

All officers were paid decent salaries as shown below:— Jumledar over 125 troopers—500 pagodas and a palanquin. His accountant—100 to 125 pagodas.

A Hazari over 1,250 troopers—1,000 pagodas, a palanquin and other accoutrements of honour.

His Accountant, Secretary and Jamnis got 500 pagodas besides a palanquin was given to each.

The emoluments of the Commander-in-Chief are not mentioned anywhere.

1. Eng. Records, II, 350.

The organization of the other type of cavalry consisting of Siledars was exactly of the same kind. They were also under the Sarnaubat.

4. Training of the Cavalry:—Arrangements were made to keep the cavalry in cantonements during the rainy season. Hence sufficient stores of grains, fodder, medicines, etc., were preserved. Houses for men and stables for horses were provided. Thus Shivaji had a regular cavalry in his service, and he looked to its comforts, efficiency and discipline. It was maintained on a new system in opposition to the feudal system of the Moguls. The nobles of the Delhi Empire were interested in cutting down the expenses of the cavalry under their charge. The troopers were recruited as occasion arose. Hence there was no regular training of troopers, and no regular breeding studs for horses were in existence. All was confusion, corruption and inefficiency. A description of the Mogul cavalry by Tavernier, Bernier, Manucci and others clearly brings out these defects.

5. The Infantry:— This branch of the army was mainly recruited from the Mawalas. The ascending grades were as follows:-

Names of Officers	Names of Infantry Units
One Naik or Corporal	over a squad of 10 men.
„ Hawaldar or Sergeant	„ a half company of 5 Naiks or 50 men.
One Jumledar or Captain	over a company of Hawalas or 100-150 men.
One Hazari or Brigade Commander	over a battalion.
One Sarnaubat or Commander-in-Chief. ...	over seven Hazaris.

Their salaries are given as under:—

Jumledar ... ... 100 pagodas	Hazari Commander ... 500 pagodas
His Secretary... 40 „	His Secretary ... 100-125 „

6. Strength of the army:— From the Dutch documents we learn that in 1660 Shivaji had 8,000 soldiers at Panhala with him.

He must have distributed some forces for the protection of conquered places. A force of 4,000 foot and 7,000 horse was despached to reinforce the captain who had captured Kudal. The latter must have originally got some three to four thousand soldiers under him. Then a flying army of sixteen thousand picked men under Netaji was harassing the march of the grand army of Shaista Khan. Another flying army was threatening Bijapur and trying to decoy Siddi Jauhar from Panhala. This flying force might be composed of some seven thousand men. We have to take into consideration the garrisons left in such strong fortresses as Purandar, Javli, Pratapgad, Rajgad, Sinhagad, Khelna, Rangana, Chakan, Vasota, Lohgad, etc. It is evident that the whole active army of Shivaji could not be less than sixty thousand in 1660[1] A. D.

It is said on P. 480 of Part II that Shivaji had as strong an army as the Bijapur King had given to Siddi Jauhar which was 16-20 thousand horse and 35-40 thousand foot. In other words, the strength of the Raja's army varied from 50 to 60 thousand men in 1660 on the strength of Dutch evidence.

Shivaji must have increased the army with the expansion of his kingdom and financial resources. The Siledars were raised to 8,000 just after Afzal's death. Netaji Palkar was sent with 15,000 horse and 12,000 foot to make depredations in the Mogul territory in 1661. Shivaji is said to have 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse *in camp* during the rainy season of 1664.

He must have got about $500 \times 35 = 17,500$ men more in the thirty-five forts under him at that time. He started with 30,000 soldiers in 1670 against the Moguls. A few months later, he is reported to have marched with 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot to surprise Surat.[2] He marched with 15,000 horse, 14,000 foot, and 10,000 labourers against Phonda in 1675; with 15,000 horse and 30,000 foot against Konkan in 1676, and with 40,000 horse and 40,000 foot in 1677 on the Karnatic expedition. This army was on

1. Shivaji, Part II, Pp. 78, 479, 483, 485.
2. Ibid, pp. 117, 241, 365.

the whole newly recruited. The best and bravest soldiers were left behind with Moro Pant to defend the kingdom.[1] We have to add the garrisons which were permanently kept for the defence of the forts and the country.

In Nov. 1678 he had concentrated 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot at Panhala alone. In 1679 Shivaji was about Malkapur with 20,000 horse; one of his generals plundered Dharangaon, Chhapra, etc., with 12,000 horse, another force of the same strength appeared near Aurangabad. Thus more than 40,000 horse were in the field in one province. Then Moro Pandit had another force of 20,000 strong,[2] while Shivaji himself returned with another army to his capital.

At the end of his life the strength of his cavalry is stated by Sabhasad to be 45,000 regulars and 60,000 irregulars,[3] while Chitnis changes the proportion to 80,000 regulars and only 25,000 irregular Siledars.

It is evident now that the figures of the Sabhasad and Chitnis Chronicles are not unreliable;[4] that the infantry preponderated over the cavalry in Shivaji's army, and that he devoted very great personal attention to the efficiency, discipline, recruitment, payments and rewards of the army.

7. The relative strength of the cavalry and infantry:— The Moguls were in need of more horsemen than foot soldiers, since the former were mostly useful in the distant expeditions to Kabul and Kandahar, to Assam, Gujerat or Sind, and to the Deccan. The infantry was mainly employed on garrison duty in the numerous forts and palaces. The Deccan monarchs, following the Moguls, had a preponderance of cavalry over the infantry. In fact, all the military grades were based upon the number of horses commanded

1—3. Vakaskar, 138; Shivaji, Part II, 287; Part III, 137, 177, 211-12; Sabhasad, 136.

4. Rawlinson's statement that Shivaji's usual striking force was about 10,000 troops of all arms, is a gross underestimate (Shivaji, p. 91). Fryer says that Shivaji had 30,000 horsemen and footmen innumerable.

by the officers. The distinguished historian Baldaeus records that the forces of the Bijapur-King consisted of 1,50,000 horse and only 8,000 foot.[1]

Shivaji did not require cavalry in the mountainous country and in the inaccessible forests of the Sahyadri range. His numerous forts needed a large force of brave foot soldiers. Moreover, the cavalry was far more costly than the other arm. Besides, horses were difficult to obtain in Maharashtra.

For the first fifteen years he was mainly, if not exclusively, devoted to the recruiting, equipping and training of the infantry. His military genius, personal bravery, organizing capacity, charming personality, all combined to produce a self-confident, a loyal, and an almost invincible army from the poor, ignorant, simple, but hardy and sturdy Mawalas and other mountaineers.

He specially devoted himself to the recruiting and training of the cavalry after his victory over Afzal Khan. With the enormous wealth captured in his camp and the loot obtained in the subsequent depredations he could swiftly increase his military strength in all arms. The triumph of Shivaji in 1660 was really a turning point in his life. The growth of the cavalry was subsequent to the wealth obtained after the memorable victories over the Bijapur generals. It was necessitated by the invasion of Shaista Khan.

In the military forces organized by Shivaji, the infantry predominated over the cavalry. This fact is clear from the figures given in the previous section. At the end of his career, he is said to have a lakh of foot soldiers, recruited, equipped, and paid by the state, though the 91 Q. Chronicle raises the figure to two lakhs.[2]

8. The excellence of his cavalry— The excellence of the light Maratha cavalry has been fully brought out by the numerous wars, expeditions, depredations and guerilla tactics described in this work. The pomp, luxury, magnitude and cumberousness of the camps of

1. A Description of the E India Coasts, p. 602 (London 1703).
2. Vak. P, 133.

the Mogul commanders like Shaista Khan, Diler Khan, Bahadur Khan and the Mogul princes, have also been frequently detailed in the writings of Da Guarda, Abbé Carré, Manucci, etc.

It has been truly concluded by Vincent Smith that if Akbar had had the misfortune to encounter the Maratha light horse, it is possible that he might not have fared much better than his great grandson did. Akbar's military organization had in it the seeds of decay and failure.[1]

Without tents and equipage, without provisions and other commissariat encumbrances, without heavy artillery, the light Maratha infantry and cavalry moved with lightning speed from place to place. The soldiers and horsemen gathered their provisions as they went along. Their diet must have been of the poorest kind. They could hardly have time and opportunity to relish dainties and luxuries. These simple rustics subject to all the inclemencies of the climate of different parts in their long expeditions to Khandesh, Berars, and Southern India, performed deeds of heroism, sacrifice, patriotism which won them the admiration of the world. Dr. Fryer keenly observed the difference between the Muslim and Maratha armies and remarked: "Sevaji's men thereby being fitter for any Martial Exploit, having been accustomed to Fare Hard, Journey Fast, and take little Pleasure. But the other will miss of a Booty rather than a Dinner; must mount in state and have their arms carried before them, and their Women not far behind them, with the Masters of Mirth and Jollity; will rather expect than pursue a Foe; but then they stand it out better; for Sevagi's Men care not much for a pitched Field, though they are good at Surprizing and Ransacking; yet agree in this, that they are both of stirring spirits."

The fighting strength of the army was maintained by strict discipline. Dr. Fryer also observed that Shivaji did not permit "whores and dancing wenches in his army," nor did he allow drinks and intoxicants to be taken by his soldiers. Thus all officers as well as men lived a life of Spartan simplicity like the Maharaja

1. Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 368.

himself. Abbé Carré observes that "he greatly cherished the officers whom he called his brothers and friends, living familiarly with them, and attending to their needs withall distinction, he did not give anything to himself. He conducted himself with such ability, not affecting anything, and proposing through others the things to which he appeared aloof, and (=but) which he desired at bottom." Further, "Shivaji who being always at the head of his troops, knew not pleasure."[1]

The evidence of Dr. John F. G. Careri [2] (1695 A. D.) is worth recording here: "This Shivaji is so powerful, that he maintains war at one and the same time with the great Mogul and the Portuguese. He brings into the field 50,000 Horse, and as many or more Foot, much better soldiers than the Moguls, for they live a day upon a piece of dry bread, and the Moguls will march on with ease carrying women, abundance of provisions and tents so that their army looks like a moving city."

9. Training of the army:—Shivaji was one of those rare rulers who devoted much attention to the regular training of the soldiers. Here is the testimony of Abbé Carré: "He had in his troops many young men still novices in the business whom he had assembled from all sides. In order to accustom them, he encamped for nearly three months on a level plain, training them to manage horses and to fight, and forming them with care in all the exercises of the military art." [3]

This confirms the statements of the Marathi chronicles about the training of the soldiers in the cantonements and in the forts. It is said by Carré that the Raja used to choose a most beautiful place, most abounding in forage, for making his army encamp and for giving it leisure and comfort to refresh itself.[4]

Shivaji had regular studs in several places. One of these was at Mahad Korigao,[5] the other was near Junner, and the third near Surat.

1. Hist Misc., pp. 49. 55.
2. A Voyage Round the World.
3-4. Hist. Misc., pp. 45, 57.
5. Vak. 89.

10. Army regulations of Shivaji may be stated on the evidence of Sabhasad to be as follows:—

1. During the rainy season the army was stationed in cantonements.

2. The commissariat officers were to provide houses for men and stables for horses, and keep sufficient grains, fodder and medicines in store.

3. The army was employed on some expedition after celebrating the Dasrah festival.

4. Then an inventory of the belongings of all men ready to march out was made.

5. For eight months these forces were to subsist on provisions obtained in the territories of the enemy.

6. No women, female slaves, or dancing girls were to be taken with the army. Those who kept them were to be capitally punished.

7. Women and children were not to be captured anywhere.

8. Cows were not to be captured, but bullocks could be requisitioned for transport service.

9. Brahmans were not to be molested nor were they to be admitted as surities.

10. No one was to commit adultery.

11. On return from an expedition, an inventory of the loot with every sepoy was to be made. All cash and articles over and above the salary due to a sepoy were taken for the state.

12. All officers were to present gold, jewels, valuable clothes and commodities to the Raja. Accounts were rendered to him, and sums due from the treasury for pay and other charges were to be taken by them.

13. Men guilty of violating the rules or charged with cowardice, were to be tried by a military court and the offenders were to be duly punished.

We get glimpses of the observance of these rules in the preceding pages and in some Marathi documents. Strict discipline prevailed in the army on its march to Golconda. Inventories of the loot at Rajapur, Hubli, Chhapra, Dharangaon, etc. are referred to several times in these pages.

Shivaji was much distressed at the news of the Chiplun people being harassed by the troops encamped there. He issued these instructions to the officers. "If articles are forcibly taken away from the cultivators, they would desert the place. Some would die of starvation, and your presence would be more unwelcome than that of the Moguls. Do not give ryots the least trouble. Whatever is wanted by the soldiers should be purchased from the market with money given you from the Government treasury. Violence should not be offered to any one on any account."[1]

Shivaji did not encumber his army with beasts of burden to supply provisions. Spare horses were led in the cavalry to take the place of those which died on the expeditions. Similarly, pack animals were taken to bring back the booty. But there was no other hinderance which was experienced by Mogul commanders to supply commodities for the camp bazars. Caravans consisting of thousands of bullocks were led by Banjaries for the supply of provisions to the Mogul army. The movements of the Muslim armies were consequently slow and ineffective.

11. Spies and scouts:—The detective department was the backbone of the administration. The Maratha spies were found in the army, navy, civil departments, and camps. They were scattered over the whole country and in the territories of the other rulers. These spies supplied minute information on the questions entrusted to them. For Shivaji had complete information about the houses of the rich merchants of Surat, Hubli, Dharangaon, Chhapra and other cities plundered by him. He even knew where the treasures were concealed in the houses. Therefore he could pillage large cities in two or three days and depart with his booty

1. Raj. VIII, doc. 23–25.

to other places. The Raja had to outwit Aurangzeb, the prince of wiles, and outdo his extensive system of espionage. Then he is said to have himself visited Surat in the guise of a fakir before he launched upon his lightning expedition against the richest port of the Empire in 1664. It is said that the Sadhus in charge of Ramdasi *maths* used to play the part of spies, and this religious order was of immense help to Shivaji in his administration.

A few principles of the military organization evolved by Shivaji are mentioned by Martin, the French Governor of Pondichery from personal knowledge obtained by visiting the Maratha camp. "His camp is without any pomp and unembarrassed by baggage or women. There are only two tents in it, but of a thick simple stuff, and very small, one for himself and the other for his minister. The horsemen of Shivaji ordinarily receive two pagodas per month as pay. All the horses belong to him and he entertains grooms for them.....Ordinarily there are three horses for every two men, which contributes to the speed which he usually makes ..... This Chief pays his spies liberally, which has greatly helped his conquests by the correct information which they give him."

12. Rewards for military service:—Sabhasad has recorded the rewards distributed by Shivaji among his army after the destruction of Afzal Khan's forces. Further, as Kahnoji Naik Jedhe performed splendid service in annihilating Afzal's army, he was given the First Honour of the Sword in 1659. Kavji Kodhalkar and Waghoji Tupe were rewarded for their service during the same war by being appointed commanders of 1,000 foot in 1660 (J. Ch.)

Shivaji conferred the title of Panch Hazari on two great military officers, one Makaji Anand Rao, a natural son of Shahji and the other Vyankoji Datto, a Brahman military leader.

During Shivaji's flight to Khelna Bandal's men fought magnificently and many died fighting for the Raja, hence the First Honour of the Sword was transferred to Bandal, and Jedhe was placed in the second rank. (J. Ch.)

Kartoji Gujar was made Sarnaubat with the title of Prataprao, Prince of Valour. Since that time he was known to the world as Prataprao Gujar. Similarly, Hansaji Mohite was decorated with the title of Hamir Rao. Anand Rao who acted as commander-in-chief after the heroic death of Prataprao, was honoured with the highest title of Haft Hazari according to Chitnis and Hasam Hazari according to Sabhasad. One Surya Rao Kankde who fell at the battle of Salhir, had the title of Panch Hazari. Hazariship [1] was conferred upon Ram Dalvi, Tan Savant, Admiral Ibrahim Khan, Ramaji Pangera, Malsavant, Santaji Raje and many others.

Civil or military officers were given palanquins, horses, elephants, and even banners and drums to maintain their status with magnificance.

It appears that there was an honorary or titular post of Sena Saheb Subha-Major General of the whole army. In 1664 it was conferred by the Raja upon his half-brother Parsoji.

13. Feudal forces:— Although Shivaji's greatest work was the abolition of feudal traditions, still hereditary Watandars, Deshpandes, Deshmukhs and others continued to enjoy a part of their incomes. The few armed attendants in their service could naturally be summoned in times of emergency. This militia served as a reserve force for all contingencies. The contemporary Muslim rulers mostly depended upon their feudal levies, but Shiva did not rely upon the inefficient, irregular, indisciplined troops haphazardly raised by a feudal baron for himself or for the Raja. These forces were, however, occasionally used; for instance, Moro Pant was called to the battle-field of Salhir from the Konkan where he had gone at the head of the Hasams or militia. Similarly, an important battle was fought by a Hazari officer of the militia with Diler Khan.[2]

14. Arms and Weapons:— The army was generally equipped with arms and weapons like swords, daggers, scimitars, straight

1. Sen, Sh. Chh. pp. 85, 97, 102, 104, 106, 126, 148; Vak. P. 123.
2. Sen, Sh. Chh., pp. 102-103.

rapiers, spears, poniards, spears with a string, bombs, bows and arrows, match-locks, coats of mail, head-armours, helmets, cloth-covers, body-armours, armours for horses and elephants, grenades, and other weapons.$ Rockets and carbines were used by the Maratha army in a battle with Khawas Khan (Shivaji, Part II, 528). We read of hurling fiery-arrows and stones (Ibid., p. 28).

He gathered together the infantry by collecting foot-soldiers [1] from the Maval territory, light [2]-armed men, spearmen [3] swordsmen,[4] camp-guards,[5] match-lockmen,[6] musketeers,[7] foot-soldiers[8] from the Karnatic, Torsali,[9] Jangade,[10] and archers.[11]

He made fit and ready the moving artillery [12] by collecting small[13] cannon, long-range[14] guns, cannon[15] carried on elephants, guns[16] carried on camels, mortars[17] placed on big carts, and men[18] with some kind of cannon. The kingdom was thus kept well protected and made prosperous.

15. **The camel corps and elephant corps** were small units. The former is said by Chitnis (P. 186) to be from 1,000 to 1,500 strong. Camels were required to carry guns, luggage and post, while elephants were used for dragging heavy guns and baggage or were kept as ornamental appurtenances to palaces, mansions and forts. Sabhasad has given the number of elephants male, female and young to be 1,260 at the end of Shivaji's regime, while Chitnis[19] reduces the number to 350 only. Out of these about one hundred were kept for state use, while the rest were given to nobles and the artillery department. Shivaji is said to have captured 65 elephants,

$ Their respective names in Marathi are:— तरवार, कठारा, जमदाडा, पट्टे भाले, बांक, बिचवे, सैज, टाकण्या, तिरकमाना, बंदुकी, बखतेर, घुंग्या, टोप, कुपट्ट, चलखते, पाखरा, ताज, हुके, दारुगोळा, बाण.

1. Mavals. 2. Adavas. 3. Itekari. 4. Pattaits. 5. Bankaits. 6. Bandukis. 7. Tursandajs. 8. Kanades. 9. Torsali. 10. Jangade. 11. Tirandaja. 12. Tophkhana. 13. Ramachangyas. 14. Durayyas. 15. Philnals. 16. Sutarnal. 17. Bhande. 18. Karol, some kind of cannon. (Chitnis, 185-5,)

1,200 camels and 4,000 horses from Afzal's forces, and twelve elephants and 1,000 horses from Rustum Zaman's army in 1659. In the battle of Salhir the booty included 125 elephants, 6,000 camels and 6,000 horses.[1] These seem to be exaggerated figures, but in many other battles and expeditions the Marathas were capturing these animals, and consequently there must have been a large number of these for military and civil use.

16. Military reforms— In opposition to the Muslim armies the Maratha army was an imperial institution managed by the central government. It has been seen that many reforms were introduced by Shivaji. These are summarized below :

1. He created a special royal troop for his personal protection and as a reserve for contingencies.

2. He did away with the feudal army and created a standing army directly recruited by the government.

3. He reduced the importance of the mercenary troopers and increased the strength of the state-paid army.

4. He avoided the mistakes and pitfalls of the Mogul Emperors by having light-armed cavalry and by introducing very strict regulations against luxury, drunkenness, indulgence in music, etc.

5. He introduced the system of breeding horses and of branding them in imitation of the Mogul's method,

6. Ths Mogul Emperors depended more on the cavalry than on the infantry, but Shivaji paid more attention to the improvement of the infantry.

7. His forts could be defended properl
his strength lay in inaccessible stronghold
light-footed infantry. He consequently t
make it efficient and faithful.

1. Shivaji, Part II, 52, 289, 479.

8. He gave titles to his military officers but no lands in gift.

9. He absolutely did away with the vicious Mogul system of paying the salaries of officers from rents or lands given in Inam to them. All were paid in cash from the state and local treasuries.

10. Every soldier was paid directly by a civil officer and not by his military commander. Officers as well as soldiers were all liberally paid. Besides, they were honoured with titles and insignia.

11. He kept the military forces under civil administration. He created a graded hierarchy of military officers who were in no way permitted to rule the country. The civil rulers were separate and had nothing to do with the army, but in various expeditions when Ministers were put in charge of the military operations, the army was to obey their orders.

12. Shiva was the supreme builder and fortifier of forts. His new regulations for the internal organization of the forts deserve attention.

13. Spies were posted in every unit of the army, so that the Raja could get full information of its movements and occurrences.

14. Officers called Vaknis wrote all news regarding the army, so that Shivaji was kept informed of all details.

15. Every commander was given a private secretary to write out his official diary which was probably inspected by the higher officers.

16. His army was non-communal, even Muslim soldiers and officers had a significant share in every branch of the army.

17. He established factories for manufacturing various kinds of arms and ammunition.

18. He was the father of the Maratha navy which proved a terror to the Siddi, the Mogul and the European navies.

19. He introduced a private merchant marine.

20. He avoided pitched battles and relied more on guerilla tactics.

The Forts

17. Shivaji, a man of forts— Daughlas has aptly said that Shivaji's dwelling was among the rocks, and his strength lay in the everlasting hills. He was a man of forts, born in a fort. The forts made him what he became, and he made the forts what they were— the terror of all India; the cradle of his nation; the basis of his conquests; the steps of his ambition, his home and his joy; many of them he built, all of them he strengthened.

18. Classical names of forts — One was a Lion's Den (Sinhagad), another the Bolt of Indra (Purandar), a third was Bhima's Fort, a fourth was Valour Fort (Pratapgarh). A few other instances are most interesting. Pandavagarh (Pandavas' Fort); Vijayadurg (Victory Fort); Raigarh (Royal Fort); Vishalgarh (Formidable Fort); Panhala (Serpents' Home); Suvarndurg (The Golden Castle); Vishramgarh (The Fort of Rest); Lohgad (Steel Fort); Shrivardhangarh (Enhancer of Prosperity); Manranjangad (Pleasing to the mind); Kanchangad (The Golden Fort); Kamalgad (Lotus Fort); Mayurgad (Peacock Fort); Madangad (Fort of Cupid), Mitragad (Friendly Fort); Rajhansagad (Gander Fort); Sundargad (Beautiful Fort); Naladurg (King Nala's Fort); Devagad (God's Fort); Bhaskargad (Sun-Fort); Gajendragad (Elephant Fort); Chandragad (Moon-Fort); Satara (Star-Fort). Only inspiring names were not given to the fortified places, but some pleasing titles were chosen to create appreciation of their natural beauty. A few instances have been given at random above. All these are Sanskrit names. This fact furnishes an incontestible testimony of his literacy and love for Sanskrit.

19. Number of forts:— In the words of Orme "nothing was spared which might contribute to the internal defence of his country. Regular fortifications well-armed and garrisoned barred the opener

approaches; every pass was commanded by forts, and in the closer defiles, every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and became the most effectual annoyance to the labouring march of cavalry, elephants and carriages. It is said that he left 350 of these posts in the Concan alone."

The Sabhasad Chronicle gives the number of forts as 240. Out of these one hundred and eleven were constructed by Shivaji himself, 49 were captured by him in Maharashtra, 30 in the Karnatic and 41 below the Ghats.[1] In the Chitnis Chronicle[2] the number of forts is 317 as under:—

	Military circles	No. of forts
1.	Satara and Wai	11
2.	Karad	4
3.	Panhala	12
4.	Maval Sahyadri	18
5.	Konkan on the sea coast and sea forts	38
6.	Konkan	57
7.	Thana	12
8.	Baglan	7
9.	Trimbak, &c.,	25
10.	Phonde-Bednur	12
11.	Jagdevagad in the Karnatic	18
12.	Shrirangpatan	23
13.	Vellor	25
14.	Kolhapur and Balapur	27
15.	Wanagad	22
16.	Chandi	6
17.	Tanjore and Arni	—
	Total	

1. Sen, Sh. Chh., pp. 140-148.
2. Chitnis, p. 315.

The Chitragupta [1] Chronicle raises the number to 361 and gives a complete list of their names.

Hill castles and underground forts	—	240
Forts on the ground	—	108
Sea forts	—	13

This list is to be preferred to others. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of the names given therein except in a few cases. Thus we can safely assert that Shivaji was the master of about 350 forts, out of which some fifty must have played an important role in Maratha history.

20. Fortifications and repairs:—The 91 Q. Chronicle records that Shivaji built a fort at every place which he found strong and beautiful in situation, and put in it trustworthy and brave men. Mudforts were demolished and stronger ones were constructed in their places.[2]

We have already seen how he strengthened the fortifications of Rajgarh, Raigarh, Sinhagad, Lohagad, Mahuli, Purandar, Panhala, Vishalgad, Rangana, Phonda, Vellore, Ginji, Sindhudurg, and numerous other fortresses and castles. Shivaji fully understood that the hill-forts were the best means for the protection of the land, its people, the king and his royal power. Hence he took care to maintain the walls, gates and towers of the forts in full repair and to keep provisions, stores and munitions ready for a long siege.

As he was in constant fear of Mogul invasions, he created in 1671 a reserve fund of 175,000 pagodas for repairs and another of 125,000 pagodas for provisions. These funds were to be used only in times of emergency when money from other sources could not be obtained. The relative importance of the forts is probably manifest from the amounts specified in the list of the reserve fund.[3]

1. Chitragupta, pp. 127-131.
2. Vak., p. 129.
3. Rajwade VIII. Documents. 21, 22 of 1671 A. D.
It is as follows:— Raigad, Sinhagad, Sindhudurg, Vijayadurg, Suvarndurg, Pratapgad, Purandar, Rajgad, Prachandgad, Prasiddhagad, Vishalgad, Mahipatgad, Sudhagad, Lohagad, Sabalgad, Shrivardhangad Manaranjan, Korigad, Sarasgad, Mahidhargad, Manohargad.

21. High wages to workmen— These letters bring out the important fact that Shivaji offered adequate and regular wages to the workmen, because 'otherwise the workers grew discontented, and the repair works suffered'. He was always on the lookout for expert workmen. He built Sindhudurg with the help of the Portuguese engineers. For instance, he tempted several men from Bombay by offering high wages, and requested Englishmen at Madras to send experts for repairs of the Ginji fort.[1]

22. Internal organization in a fort— Every fort was in the possession of the Central Government, and no baron or Jagirdar was allowed to have one or even a house with a bastion. Each fort was manned by state forces and put in charge of several officers. The military command of the forts was of a different type from that of the army. A corporal[2] or Naik was appointed a leader of nine sepoys (Paik). Over every three Naiks was placed a Jamadar who thus commanded thirty men. Over all the Jamadars was appointed a Hawaldar. He was the Commandant of the fort and head of the garrison. He was usually a Maratha assisted by a Sabnis, a Karkhanis and a Sarnaubat. The first three officers were of the same status. The Sabnis or Accountant's post was filled by a Brahman who used to be in charge of the rolls and accounts, while the Karkhanis was invariably a Kayastha Prabhu who was the head of the commissariat department. The Sarnaubat used to be a Maratha. Besides these three officers of three different castes, there used to be watch officers of the ramparts, called Tat-sarnaubats. They were officers of the patrolling parties and night watches. The duties of Sabnis and Karkhanis were probably performed in the Bijapuri government by Chowkinawis. Shivaji appointed these officers in the beginning of his reign. For instance, Raghunath Balal was made Chowkinavis of the army just after the death of Kond Deva in 1647. Some time after he was raised from Chowkinavis to be the commander of the Konkan forts. After the capture of the fort of Purandar by Shivaji, A. R. Malekar was

1. Shivaji, Part III, 250-51.
2. Sen, Sh. Chh., p. 29.

appointed Chowkinavis, but in Sane's edition, the word "Sabnis" is used instead.[1]

It is difficult to say when this new system was introduced by Shivaji, but from a letter of 1665, it appears that the three officers of Hawaldar, Sabnis, Sarnaubat in addition to Naikvadis were in the fort of Rajgad. The Sabnis had delayed the payment of dues to the soldiers and an enquiry was made into his conduct (Raj. VIII, doc. 9). In some cases the post was filled by some great man, but the work was done by his substitute. For instance, Ramachandra Nilkanth was made Sabnis in the fort of Sindhudurg on 100 pagodas per annum, but his agent or Mutalik was to perform the duties according to the letter of appointment issued by Shivaji Raja himself on 13th April 1668. Moreover, this post was made hereditary in his family.[2]

23. Pay of officers— In two Marathi letters the pay of the Hawaldar and Sarnaubat of the fort Utlur is mentioned to be 125 and 100 Hons, the officer in charge of the buildings also got 125 Hons, while his secretary was paid 36 Hons per annum. The rampart-officers were paid 12 Hons and the Bargirs, 9 Hons a year. Grant Duff says that the regular pay of a foot-soldier was from one to three pagodas, that of a horseman from two to five, and that of a Shiledar from six to twelve pagodas a month. Besides, the officers used to get allowances for bearers of palanquins, torches, sun-shades and for other services.

It was difficult for all these officers to conspire against Shivaji and to treasonably hand over a fort to the enemy. They were not only checks upon each other, but were jointly responsible for the safety of the forts. For instance, when Bhupalgad was invaded by the rebellious Sambhaji at the head of the Mogul troops, all the three officers jointly replied to his demand for the surrender of the fort.[3]

1. In 91 Q. Ch, this caste is said to supply Chowkinavises.
2. Vak. Pp. 54, 59, 89. 3. Sh. Dig. 206.

Shivaji had frequently used the lure of wealth to buy off loyalty of the Adilshahi and Mogul officers, and thus he had easily got possession of many fortresses. His personal experience warned him not to entrust the safety of a fort to one or two officers. While men of important castes were given high posts, they, impelled by mutual jealousies and self-interest, were sure to prove loyal to the benevolent ruler.

24. Guards for outskirts—The Raja's genius found out still greater security in the employment of Mahars, Mangs, Ramoshis, Kolis, Bhils, and other jungle tribes for the protection of the outskirts and slopes of a castle. All these tribes were mainly composed of most adventurous dare-devils.

Some of these depressed classes were by tradition criminal people. He employed them as defenders of forts, and thus made them benefactors of the state. They proved to be the staunchest supporters of the suzerainty of their liberal sovereign.

A third precaution taken by him was a careful selection of both men and officers. These were appointed after the Raja had individually inspected each man. Brave and shrewd youths of good family were recruited, but some one of the personal staff of the Raja was to stand surety for each of them selected for the army. Personal sureties were similarly taken for every officer appointed in the army.[1]

Finally, he did not keep the same officers long in a fort, but used to transfer them from place to place. There was also no hereditary enjoyment of a post, as it was prevalent in the Bijapur kingdom.

The fighting forces were composed of musketeers, spear-men, swordsmen, archers, and light-armed men. There were others who used to throw rockets, hand-grenades and stones. Sometimes huge boulders were rolled down the slopes to crush the ascending soldiers and horses.

1. Sen, Sh. Chh., pp. 29–30.

25. Regular inspection of forts— Shivaji used to often inspect the forts either himself or through responsible ministers. He had a code of regulations which were to be strictly followed by the officers of the forts. There is a fine anecdote narrated by Chitnis of the tests held by Shivaji. One night he approached the entrance of the Panhala fort and demanded it to be opened. The sentry at the gate consented to inform his officer of the Raja's arrival. After a time the Hawaldar appeared on the rampart and regretted his inability to permit him in against the rules. The Maharaja told him that he was hotly pursued by enemies and his life was in danger. Thereupon the officer gave him assurance that he and his soldiers will stand guard on the rampart, and defend the gate against the enemy during the night. In the meantime he let down a bedstead and bedding for the king to sleep in the porch under the watch and guns of the fort. In the morning when the gate was opened according to the regulations, the officer appeared before the king with all humility for not complying with his wishes at night and hoped to be excused for disobedience. But Shivaji was much delighted at the bold conduct of the officer, so he munificently awarded him for fearlessly performing his duty. He paid such surprise visits to many forts before going to Agra. At other times he sent his commanders for inspection. Abaji Pant and Annaji Dutto were appointed to visit and inspect every fort, and to report upon the strength of its fortifications and the stock of materials and provisions.

The views of Shivaji are given in a chronicle thus: "Forts are for the protection of the land and the people. Just as ships and boats are strengthened with nails of iron, so by means of forts and redoubts the kingdom is strengthened, and the ryots safeguarded. I have an enemy like the Emperor Aurangzeb. If, God forbid it, he decides on active hostility and spends his whole life in warfare with me, the conquest of these forts would be beyond his power. In fact, forts are the defendants and guardians of the kingdom and the royal power." From that time forward he laid down the rule that in the larger forts enough munitions and grain

should be stored to last for 12 years, and in the smaller forts for two years, and that reliable men whose words could be depended on, should be posted in the forts and kept contented and attached to their master by all means, so that they might not hesitate to sacrifice their lives in time of need.

These ideas were actually put into practice as has been strangely confirmed by Father Friere.[1] "With this prevision, Shivaji applied all the energy of his mind and all the resources of his dominion to the fortifications of the principal towns. He constructed new ramparts around Gingi, dug ditches, erected towers, created basins, and executed all these works with a perfection which European art would not have denied. He did as much for the other citadels, whose position promised real advantages, destroyed all those which he considered useless, constructed a large number of new ones in the plains and hills, and put all these fortresses in a state of preparedness for a siege of several years."

26. Repair of forts— The rule was to keep intact the walls of towers by repair, to strengthen the gates, and to keep stores, munitions and provisions of the forts ready for every emergency.

There used to be a Sarnaubat or Hawaldar in charge of the public works. His duties were to look to the repair and construction of all buildings and ramparts in a fort. Among the reforms introduced by Shivaji one was the establishment of the P. W. D. Moropant and Hiroji Farzand were appointed to the post of the chief superintendent of buildings. In the beginning Brahmans, but afterwards Marathas too, were put in charge of this department. We have instances of such appointments at Ginji, Rudraj, Salvi and Utlur. [2]

27. Vestiges of old forts— A visit to one of the principal forts like Sinhagad, Raigad, or Panhala is an eye-opener. The tourist will find that everything is lying in a dilapidated condition; ramparts and gates are crumbling to dust; the tanks and granaries are in

1. Shivaji, Part III, p. 253.
2. Vak., pp. 57, 88, 89: 141–42; Rajwade VIII, pp. 30-31.

ruins; old guns and iron balls are lying scattered among heaps of stones; old mansions have scarcely more than bare walls or foundations. Yet forts like Torna, Rajgad, Raigad, Sinhagad, Purandar, Pratapgad, Shivneri, Vishalgad, Panhala, Satara, Sindhudurg, present evidence of a very systematic government. These have very big granaries, so that for years they could sustain a siege even without receiving provisions from without. Though many of these were hill-forts, sufficient care was taken to procure an adequate supply of water for human and animal purposes. Gunpowder and munitions of war were kept in underground cellars. They had secret tunnels or passages to effect escape in times of difficulty. Several of them had drawbridges to join and sever the connection with the land. They could be absolutely cut off by a ditch of water and yawning chasms of ravines. Their slopes were chiselled very steep, so that they were inaccessible even to the light-footed Mavalas. The weak points of defence were artificially strengthened with redoubts and fortifications. After capturing the impregnable castle of Ginji which included seven fortifications upon hills, Shivaji rebuilt it very strongly. Manucci has recorded that the Raja could foresee the emergency of Aurangzeb investing this castle. Therefore, he kept a great store of money, munitions, provisions, etc. to resist the Mogul armies during a long siege.[1] Shivneri has seven gates on the way which winds up the slopes within the ramparts. There are about fifty tanks both large and small there. Even the gates are doubled or trebelled in defence. One gate led to the other and to the third before one could enter the fort. At each gate a guard of soldiers was stationed and adequate arrangements for offence and defence were made. Two such gates are to be seen at Panhala, known as the "Three Gates" and the "Tiger's Gate." The masonry work is done in lead and lime. The gate has escaped the ravages of time for three hundred years. The old palace of Shivaji at by the rulers of Kolhapur even now, is preserv original form. Similarly, the tower of the time of Adilshahi is kept in good condition there. It gives a panoramic vie

1. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 259, 269.

whole of the Konkan and the surrounding districts. There were market places for the sale of all articles required by the soldiery and the officers. At Raigad we have the ruined shops of the great bazar of 25 ft. wide and a mile in length. In Panhala too, many shops must have existed. Barracks for the soldiers, and houses and offices for officers, temples, mosques, gardens, open spaces for military drills were to be had within the forts. Outside the ramparts the circumventing area of the slopes was generally divided into seven Petas or villages named after the week-days, such as Monday Pet, Tuesday Pet, Friday Pet, and so on. Each one of these was inhabited by Gadkaries or "Guardians of the Fort" consisting of different castes. They spent their time in cultivating the lands allotted to them on the slopes and at the foot of the hill, but in time of war, they defended the outskirts of the fort. Every day they had to keep watch, so that no hostile army should pass through the intervening spaces for surprising the fort.

28. Architecture— Shivaji had no time to go in for superb art in architecture. Many of his structures were hastily raised to defend the land against the constant raids of the Bijapuri or Mogul forces. Yet the stone arch constituting the great entrance to his palace and court at Raigarh is a marvellous specimen of architectural beauty and skill. The gateways of the Sindhudurg and Vijayadurg are of no mean quality. Similarly, the ramparts of these forts and of Shivaneri or of Satara are admirable pieces of workmanship. The works of Ginji, as already pointed out, were executed with a perfection which European art would not have denied.

A very interesting description of the construction of the Sindhudurg at Malwan is given in the Chitragupta Chronicle (Pp. 113-136). We get a vivid idea of the difficulties experienced in such undertakings by Shivaji from the purchase of 200 khandis of iron to the manufacture of tools for the masons, the supply of lead and lime for joining stones, or from the collection of 3,000 men for the works including 100 Portuguese experts from Goa to the provisioning of gunpowder, balls and guns for the fort. It took three years to complete this fort under his own instructions

and the able superintendence of Gobind Vishwanath Prabhu, Shivaji generously awarded the services of all at the completion of this fort which was expected to keep in awe both the Europeans and the Moguls. It has withstood the onslaughts of time and tide for two hundred and seventy years. Even now though it has been lying in a neglected condition for several decades, it elicits our admiration for the master-builder Shivaji. The present prospect of the fort can be had from the picture opposite p. 145, while the views of two sea forts with Maratha navies about them in 1755 are given in a picture opposite p. 372 of Part III.

The Maratha Navy

29. Importance of the navy— The navy was considered to be an independent limb of the state. It was essential to have a strong navy, because in the words of Ramachandra 'mastery of the sea is in the hands of him who possesses the strongest navy.' Yet he advised kings not to have very large ships as these were not useful without the help of the wind. However, he favoured the construction of a few men-of-war to create dread in the enemy. He was an advocate of having a navy consisting of brave and efficient soldiers and fully equipped with heavy guns, short-guns, match-locks, grenades, ammunition, and other material for naval use.[1]

The Maratha navy was composed of a light crew and was no match to a European fleet on the open sea. The largest ships were frigates, called Gurabs of about 200 to 300 tons. These were looked down with contempt by the Europeans, because their ships were of bigger tonnage and though merchant vessels they carried guns and soldiers to protect themselves from hostile attacks. An English Company's ship of 500-600 tons was generally equipped with 36 guns and carried about 120 soldiers, and a ship of 400-500 tons had 30 guns and 90 soldiers. Smaller ships required less guns and soldiers. In short, every merchant ship was armed with guns to save itself and to guard the trade of its country.

1. Polity, p. 48.
2. Commercial Relations Between India and England, p. 253.

The Marathas had no experts for casting big cannon, and were dependent upon the European nations for the same. The Mogul Emperor and Europeans were liberally helping the Siddis of Janjira in their war against Shivaji. The result was that that fort was at one time defended with 500 big cannon. Hence the capture of Janjira, even after enormous sacrifices of men and money, was not affected by Shivaji up to the end of his life. As he was dependent upon the Europeans for ammunition and ordnance, he treated all of them with much consideration. He showed special clemency to them at Surat, Vingurla, Madras, Negapatam and Pondichery. With the English too he continued to have friendly relations up to the end of his life, and did not ally himself with the Dutch against the English in 1673 even in time of emergency. He was a terror to them all. The Bombay settlement, being in its infancy, could not have been able to defend itself against his hordes, but he had realized the importance of every European nation which was carrying on commerce with India. He occasionally threatened the English, but actually did not give them any trouble, though they were affording refuge to the Siddi's fleet. Only at the end of 1679 he occupied Khanderi, and successfully kept its possession against the united fleets of the English and the Siddi.

Suffice it to say that the prestige of the English was very much lowered in this war with Shivaji. Dr. Fryer has piquantly expressed the public opinion on this question :—

"Amidst these Wars and rumours of Wars, we quietly lay down our arms, and leave Seva Gi and the Syddy alone to contend for our stony piece of Ground on Henry Kenry; how much to our Honour or Reproach, may be gathered from the language we have daily cast in our Teeth; "Why Vaunts your Nation? What Victories have you atchieved? What has your Sword done? Who ever felt your Power? What do you Possess? We see the Dutch outdo you; the Portugals have behaved themselves like Men; every one runs you down; you can scarce keep Bombaim, which you got (as we know) not by your Valour, but Compact; And will you

pretend to be Men of War or Cope with our Princes ? It's fitter for you to live on Merchandise and submit to us. But for all these Revilings Seva Gi makes them tremble here, forgetting that twice their Safety has been owing to us, from falling into the hands of the terrible Plunderer." *

30. Types of ships :— Sabhasad † has given six types :—

1. *Gurabs* are grabs in English. These had rarely more than two masts. They were generally of 100 tons. Some with three masts were of 300 tons.

2. *Galbats* are named gallivats in English. Such a vessel is described by Orme as a large row-boat with two masts rarely exceeding seventy tons. By Vaupell it is said to be of 100 to 150 candies. On the evidence of R. Orme these used to carry six to eight pieces of cannon from two to four pounders ; they had 40 to 50 oars and were rowed at the speed of four miles an hour.

3. *Shibads* written as Shibars in English, were large vessels like half galleys of Spain.

4. *Tarandes* were sailing vessels of large dimension.

5. *Tarus* were sailing vessels generally used by merchants.

6. *Pagars* were well-smoothed canoes.

7-10. *Dubare, Vabhor, Tirkati* and *Pal* are four names added to the list by Chitnis and Chitragupta.

The following types were in common use on the western coast.

11. *Manchua* is Machhava in Hindustani. It was a small vessel often of twelve candies. It had a main sail, 12 oars and four small guns. The Maratha fleet is said to have once lost 50 Manchuas.

12. *Galleons* were large ships generally sailing between Portugal and the East.

* Shivaji, Part III, p. 492. † Sen-Sh. Chh, 93.

1-6. Sen, Sh. Chh. P. 93. Sen, M. S. of the Marathas. Pp. 179-81.

11. Shivaji, Part III, 470.

13. *Hodi* was a small boat in very common use.

14. *Mahagiri* was a vessel of burden carrying 30 to 200 candies of goods. These were probably the types of mercantile boats.

15. Paravs written as *Prows or proas* in English, were small boats, seldom exceeding thirty candies. Eight of these were once captured by Shivaji's frigates.

16. *Balloon* stands for Balyanv, a state barge. It was sent with some Manchuas and a Shibar from Bombay against Khanderi.

17. *Ketches* were also called Doriohs. Each had a main and a mizen mast.

18. *Parangues* were small coasting vessels employed in the carrying trade by the country merchants.

We read a few other names of boats in the documents reproduced in these volumes :—

19. *Fly boats*—A fly boat sailed from Gobroon to Batavia.

20. *Patache*—One Patache is said to have left for Mozumbique, and another came from Muscat.

21. *Junks* were large vessels sailing from the Malabar coast to Mocha, etc.

22. *Yachts* [illegible] ngaged in the coasting trade.

23. *Almadia* seems to be a light and fast rowing boat.

24. *Catamarans* were common on the Coromandel coast.

25. *Frigates* of three masts each are often mentioned.

26. *Brigantines*, built after the Malabar fashion and moved both by sails and oars, were found on the western coast.

27. *Patmarins* for merchandise were possessed by Shivaji as well as by the Portuguese.

12-19. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 505-6, 535-9, Part III, 469-70.
20-21. Shivaji, Part II, 525, 541, 553, 142.
22-23. Shivaji, Part II, 536, 488.
24-27. Shivaji, Part III, 246, 312, 420, 516.

31. The reasons for the small craft:—Shivaji did not introduce any new type of vessel nor did he imitate the Europeans in constructing large men-of-war. He began by building indigenous types of vessels which could easily be managed by the Konkan people and could freely sail in the creeks and shallow waters along the rocky coast. The Europeans were sovereigns of the sea. He could not hope to get any European engineers to build his ships or pilots to manage them, nor could he ever get the necessary guns and munition for the big ships. The situation of his forts, the rocky character of the coast, and the limitations mentioned above must have obliged him to have small ships. These were looked down with contempt by Englishmen 'as pitiful things that one good ship would destroy a hundred of them without running herself into any great danger.'[1]

32. Organization of the marine:— On the evidence of Ramachandra Pant the fighting fleet was organized in separate units, each unit consisting of five grabs, 15 gallivats, and some small or light craft. These were organised into two squadrons each under a separate admiral.

One was Mai-Naik so often mentioned in the Maratha chronicles and the European documents.[2] The other officer was styled Daria Sarang. From a Bombay letter of November 1670 we learn that a Hindu Vyankatji Sarangji was Daria Sarang or Admiral of the fleet.[3] This general who was going to Surat with a fleet of 160 vessels small and great, was personally known to the Deputy Governor of Bombay, Mr. Philips Gyffard, who had been in correspondence with him for the last seven or eight years. It appears that Vyankatji had been general of the fleet from at least 1663.

A Dutch letter informs us that in 1664 the Maratha fleet was commanded by two admirals. One had the title of Daria Sarang and the other of Mai Naik who was also a Hindu of Malsi caste.[4] Daulat Khan who was general of Shivaji's sea-forces went to

1-4 Shivaji, Part II, pp. 106, 364, 527, 531-2, 543.

receive the English on their arrival near Rajapur on 2nd February 1675. He continued to occupy that post up to the death of the Raja. Under him two Muslim officers, Siddi Sambal and Siddi Misri by name began to serve from 1676. According to the Maratha chronicles Ibrahim Khan was one of the admirals probably before Daulat Khan.

The English records bear out that there were two generals of the Maratha navy. In a letter of 23rd July of 1678 "we read of Daulat Khan and Daria Sarang, both generals of his fleet."[1] Khanderi was occupied by Mai Naik Bhandari in Aug. 1679, and Daulat Khan was the other admiral in charge of the fleet. Therefore he should be Daria Sarang,[2] whilst from the preceding reference it appears that Daulat Khan did not hold the post of Daria Sarang. In Oct.-Nov. 1678 the Daria Sarang and his son were imprisoned by order of Shivaji. It is probable that this post was then given to Daulat Khan.[3] In spite of the tangle this much is certain that there were two fleets, each under an admiral, one Mia Naik and the other Daria Sarang. The former was generally a Hindu Bhandari and the other a Muslim after 1670. The crew mainly consisted of Bhandaris, Kolis and Malabaris-hardy fishermen of the western coast. These hereditary lascars, well-known for their adventure, courage and endurance, were also engaged by the Siddis of Janjira and the English of Bombay. The Bhandaris who had settled down in Bombay were considered to be loyal to Shivaji. "If he should have any design against us, they would be snakes in our bosom."[4] Therefore the English were thinking of expelling them from Bombay.

Besides the Hindus a good many Muslims and a few Portuguese were also employed in the fleets. Ramachandra Pant has consequently struck this note of warning: "The sheltering should be done only in fortified ports. Still it is possible that men of the fleet who are many and who are generally Muhammedans and arrogant would quarrel and cause injuries amongst themselves. Sometimes in secretly fixed places treachery may take place

1- 3. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 359, 364, 379, 381-2.

4. Ibid. Part II, pp. 135, 384.

without one's knowledge. This is not desirable. For these reasons the sheltering of the navy should be done every year in a different port which has got a fort facing the sea." [1]

33. Naval strength:— According to Sabhasad there were two squadrons of two hundred vessels each, and the total strength of the fleets was seven hundred vessels, while Chitnis puts the strength of the fleet at four to five hundred vessels.[2] The Chitragupta Chronicle has, however, recorded the following number of each type of vessel.

Grabs large	—	30	Hodi	—	160
,, small	—	50	Jug	—	15
Gallivats	—	100	Pal	—	25
Taru	—	60	Manchva	—	50
Mahagirya	—	150			
			Total	—	640

Excluding the Hodi and the other small craft consisting of Mahagirya and Jug, the fighting vessels numbered about 300. In addition to this navy, 1,000 Tarus are mentioned.[3]

In 1664 forty good frigates were lying in the rivers of Kharepatan and Rajapur, while sixty new battleships were under construction.[4] In November of the same year we are informed that 'this terror to all the kings and princes round about had fitted up four score vessels and sent them down to Baticola.'[5] It was really in February 1665 after the completion of the Sindhudurg at Malwan that he himself led a naval expedition to Barcelore with a fleet consisting of 85 frigates and three great ships.[6] This was the only one expedition during which he travelled on the sea. He passed by Goa without any molestation from the Portuguese,

1. Polity, p. 51.
2. Sen, Sh. Chh., pp. 134, 192; M. S. of the Marathas, p. 182.
3. Chitra. Ch., pp. 125-26.
4. Shivaji, Part II, 102, 117, 582. Shivaji's vessels are often spoken of as frigots by the English. In another letter the number of new vessels is reduced to 50 frigates (Part II, pp. 116-117).
5-6. Ibid. Part II, pp. 105, 109-118, 365

plundered Barcelore, sent back the fleet and kept only twelve frigates to transport his army over the rivers on the way. In a letter of 21st November 1670 the fleet in Nagothana is said to consist of 160 small vessels, but in the following letter the Deputy Governor is more accurate in saying that the fleet consisted of 160 sail both small and great. It was not composed of small vessels only. Three thousand soldiers were being conveyed by [1] it to Surat.

It was victualled for 40 days, and equipped with extraordinary provision of tools such as pickaxes, showels, crows of iron, etc., in the creek of Nagothana. It sailed along Thull, Bombay and Mahim, but was unexpectedly called back. During its return journey it captured a great ship of the Portuguese off Daman, while the Portuguese armada took twelve of these vessels. Dr. Fryer saw a small fleet of 30 ships and vessels belonging to the Maratha navy at Shriwardhan. Only a white flag was flying over the Admiral or Flagship. It is clear that the navy did not then use the Bhagava Banner.[2]

Even in 1664-65 the strength of the Maratha navy had so much frightened Aurangzeb who had adopted the title of Alamgir— the Lord of the World, that he instructed the Governor of Surat to induce the Dutch with promises of a substantial reward to destroy the fleet of Shivaji, but they did not consent to do so since the Raja had promised them to give facilities in the Konkan. They decided to remain neutral.[3]

The English were commanded by the Mogul authorities not to supply arms and ammunition to Shivaji. Then negotiations were conducted with the Europeans at Surat to guard the Mecca fleets against the Maratha navy.

When in 1670 he could lead a fleet of 160 vessels, the actual strength of his navy must have been much higher. A large number

1. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 105, 109-118, 365.
2. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 144.
3. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 109, 131.

of ships must have been kept to guard more than twenty ports and sea-forts under Shivaji. Then it must have gone on increasing with the growth of his power, resources and kingdom. Therefore the fighting vessels great and small might approximate four hundred. The number of light craft to victual the fleet or to serve as mercantile boats can not be reliably stated.

34. The merchant fleet of Shivaji— In 1664 Shivaji is said to possess eight or nine ports which were most considerable in the Deccan. From every port he used to send two, three or more trading vessels to Persia, Bassora, Mocha, etc.[1]

Even his Subedar Raoji Somanath Pandit, following the example of his master, made eight or nine ships ready to sail to Mocha, Congo, Persia, Muscat, etc. However the English factors made up their mind not to issue permits to them.[1] Two ships were being fitted out by Shivaji at Jaitapur for Mocha in February 1663. In 1670 Daria Sarang's three vessels went to Bombay to take in salt.[2] Shivaji used to send a fleet in May for bringing salt. In 1672 the English were planning to surprise this May fleet which would have been a vast loss to him.[2]

Ramachandra Pant has mentioned several facilities to be given to foreign merchants visiting the Konkan ports. For instance,

1. Naval and civil authorities should conciliate the merchants in many ways. They should be allowed to take whatever wood and water they want.

2. They should be permitted to buy their provisions. They ought to have full freedom to bring and purchase goods after paying the custom dues.

3. Hospitality should be shown to important merchants.

4. Full security should be given to them for their person and goods.

5. Enemy vessels should be captured. An inventory of their goods be made and the king be informed of the whole affair. Thus

1-2. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 114, 151-53, 365, 401.

encouragement was to be given to merchants of all creeds to settle in the ports.[1] He has truly advised the rulers to encourage trade which would bring about an increase in the revenue from customs. A large fleet should not be made to depend on the income from customs alone. We have the testimony of Abbé Carré [2] that along the sea where Shivaji was master, no vessel from Europe came to which the Maratha Governors did not send provisions. Then he gives an example from his personal experience of the year 1668 when he accompanied two vessels of the French Co. and visited several Maratha ports. They were treated in a way which they had never hoped for.

The Maratha statesmen of the time of Shivaji had fully understood the policies and character of the Europeans, and therefore a note of warning was struck by Ramachandra Pant in these words :—

" The hat-wearers (Topikars) are not like other merchants. Their masters, every one of them, are ruling kings. By their orders and under their control these people come to trade in these provinces. How can it happen that rulers have no greed for territories ? These hat-wearers have full ambition to enter into these provinces, to increase their territories and to establish their own religions. Accordingly at various places they have already succeeded in their ambitious undertakings. Moreover, this race of people is obstinate. Where a place has fallen into their hands, they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives.

Their intercourse should therefore be restricted to the extent of only their coming and going for trade. They should never be given any places to settle, nor should they be allowed to visit any sea-fort."

35. Shivaji's naval exploits:- were of no mean description. In the beginning of his victorious career about the year 1657, he wrested from the Portuguese who were the sovereigns of the Indian ocean in those days, the right of free navigation for his own armada; he captured the maritime ports like Rajapur, Dabhol, etc. from

1. Polity, pp. 49-50. 2. Hist. Misc. P. 46.

Bijapur in 1660; he reduced Danda Rajpuri along with several other sea-coast towns of the Siddis; he carried on a life-long struggle with them for the possession of their sea-girt rock-castle of Janjira; he built the Ocean Fort (Sindhudurg), the Victory Fort (Vijayadurg), the Golden Fort (Suvarndurg), the Lotus Fort (Padmadurg), the Jewel-Hill (Ratnagiri) and the Royal Fort (Rajkot); he occupied the important fort of Colaba near Bombay and made it his principal arsenal; he collected Chauth from the Portuguese for Daman, and plundered Sunda, Bardes, and Salsette; he personally led a naval expedition with 85 frigates and three great ships for the sack of the port town of Barcelore in 1665; he increased the strength of his navy to such an extent within five years that in 1670 he made a naval demonstration with 160 vessels in the Back Bay of Bombay to strike terror into the hearts of Englishmen and the Bombay people; he captured a large Portuguese ship off Daman on his return voyage from Bombay; he refused to enter into an alliance with the Dutch for the capture of Bombay in 1673 and thus gave an incontestable proof of his friendship with the English; he sacked Carwar and Wingurla in 1675; he brought the Dutch town of Negapatam and the French town of Pondichery into his kingdom which, in 1678, extended from the Indian Ocean to the Bay of Bengal; and finally, a few months before his death, he fortified Khanderi, "so that from it, like another Tenedos, he might watch the Bombay shipping before it entered our Hellespont." Even in 1664 he had terrified the Mogul subjects on the one hand and the Bijapuri people of the Konkan on the other. The Dutch factors at Surat record that the Moors 'think that they will be attacked by him from
although he never before sailed the sea. If he
has inspired, would enable him to inflict still
Mogul with robbing and plundering. He
conceptions and designs which he knows
execute with ingenuity.'[1]

The Englishmen of Surat wrote that t

1. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 102, 113, 496.

expect him by sea. He was to waylay the Surat vessels returning from Bassora and Persia, or to transport an army to Cambay for plundering Ahmedabad.

The Dutch at Wingurla were afraid of Shivaji who had enough ships and had always opportunity by night and at unforeseen times to surprise and capture their ships with his armed 'thousand legs' (?). Thus by 1664 he had succeeded to terrorize not only the Mogul subjects but even the three European nations who had monopolized the sovereignty of the sea from a long time. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha navy, could rightly be proud of such an achievement.

The Englishmen in India must have heaved a sigh of relief on his premature death. Mr. Douglas has aptly expressed his nation's sentiments regarding the maritime exploits of Shivaji.

"It was a great mercy that Shivaji was not a seaman, otherwise he might have swept the sea, as he did the land, with the besom of destruction. Even as it was he was very nearly doing it. He liked the sea, but the sea did not like him. So strong was his love of the salt-sea wave that when a young man he took up his abode at Mahar, on the Bankot Creek; at Malwan, he is said to have worked with his own hands at the fortifications of Sindhudurg. His foot-prints are still shown here, not on "the sands of time," but in the solid rock; and the "erring brother," meaning no harm, worships him as an *avatar*—silver mask for every day: gold mask for *bara din* or big days: Poor Shivaji, who is now worshipped as a god, was sea-sick like ordinary mortals; and though he arrayed himself in red fez with jewelled tasses, a big green wave off *the Chaul Kadu* would have no mercy on him, but bowl him, into the lee-scruppers; and then-bilge-water and *mal de mer*.

"The victor overthrown;
The arbiter of others' fates,
A suppliant for his own." [1]

1. Douglas—Bombay and Western India, Vol. I, p. 112.

36. Shivaji's naval achievements—The creation of the naval and mercantile marine was a remarkable achievement of Shivaji. The Muslim rulers of the north and the south did not possess any navies to defend their kingdoms from foreign invasion or to encourage coastal and maritime trade. Jahangir, Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb Alamgir-each one of these mighty emperors, was nominally 'king of the world,' yet not sovereign of the sea. None of them could create a navy for political and mercantile purposes. The Nizam Shahi and Bijapur kings too did not possess national navies. The Portuguese, the Dutch and the English shared the sovereignty of the Indian seas and fully controlled the foreign trade of this country. Its kings and merchants had to frequently suffer humiliations from the arrogant Europeans. No Indian ship could stir out on the open sea without buying the Portuguese permit and without fulfilling the conditions mentioned therein. With the decline of the Portuguese power, the Dutch and the English began to issue permits. An Indian ship holding a Portuguese *cartaz* could be captured by the English or the Dutch if these were at war with the Portuguese. Thus the Indian rulers and their subjects did not enjoy freedom of the sea. Though the founder of the Maratha empire was fighting a life and death struggle with the Deccan states and the Mogul Empire, yet he conceived the idea of having an Indian navy to rule the waves after his conquest of Kalyan—a great ship-building centre of those days. Amidst adverse circumstances he had the time, energy and determination to give practical shape to this original idea. In 1659, the year of his triumph over Afzal Khan, he had built ships at Kalyan, Bhivandi and Panvel. The Portuguese ordered their captain not to allow these to go out of the ports.[1] No documents are available to throw light on the early struggles of Shivaji with his Portuguese neighbours, but evidently they soon recognized the right of his fleet to navigate the sea without any hinderance from them. Consequently, Shiva richly deserves the titles of 'the Father of the Maratha navy' and 'the Creator of the Indian mercantile marine.'

1. Shivaji, Part III, p. 293.

This navy was national in its composition and ideals. The soldiers and sailors were Bhandaris, Kolis, peasants, Malabars, Marathas, Muslims and Christians. These were inspired by national spirit and unshakable loyalty to their great ruler.

We cannot share the view of the learned scholar, Dr. Sen when he says that Shivaji's navy accomplished very little excepting some fighting with the Siddis. The naval achievements of the Raja can be summed up as under:—

1. His navy effectively protected the maritime possessions in the Konkan against the raids of the Europeans, the Moguls and the Siddis.

2. It protected his own merchant fleet and mercantile vessels of his subjects sailing along the coast and even on the open sea.

3. It gave him the power to impose his rights of sovereignty over territorial sea and thus claim the wrecks of all ships in his ports.

4. It enabled him to wrest from the Portuguese the right to send out his vessels without obtaining any permits from them.

5. He kept the Portuguese in awe by entering into alliance with the Arabs, the Dutch and the English according to the needs of the time.

6. He captured Khanderi and kept its possession against the naval might of the English and the Siddi.

7. He plundered the pilgrim ships of the Mogul Emperor. Then he looted the port-towns of Jival, Pabal and others near Surat. Thus he proved his strength both on the sea and the land.

8. His land-forces could be helped in their expeditions to Surat or to Barcelore by the navy.

9. He could keep watch over the activities of the Europeans and reduce their power in his ports. His officers used to issue permits to every merchant ship after inspecting it on the sea for coming into his ports. Thus every port of his kingdom was defended against surprise by an enemy.

1. Sen, Ad. S. of the Marathas, p. 434.

10. It kept open the sea for Shivaji to escape to an inaccessible fort or to obtain war materials and provisions in time of emergency.

11. It created a naval spirit among his people, and provided employment to thousands of sailors and soldiers.

12. The ship-building industry was immensely encouraged. Kalyan, Panvel, Colaba, Kharepatan, Malvan, Wingurla and other places had ship-building yards for the repair and construction of all kinds of vessels.

13. Shivaji maintained a bitter and determined struggle with the Siddis of Janjira for twenty years, and though he failed to capture their castle, he succeeded in creating a national sentiment for the maintenance of the naval forces. On the strength of this sentiment the Angrias afterwards developed the Maratha navy to such a pitch that it became a terror to the Europeans for forty years up to 1750.

Artillery

37. Supply from the Europeans—Like the Muslim rulers, Shivaji had established a department for the manufacture of gunpowder, guns, cannon and other missles. Their names have been given before. But these were not as effective and numerous as were required for his rapidly growing kingdom. He had to depend upon the Europeans for the supply of ordnance and munition. He came into conflict with the English of Rajapur in 1660 on this point, because they sold mortars and grenades [1] to Siddi Jauhar, and used these in reducing Panhala under their own flag. Therefore Shivaji wreaked vengeance upon them by imprisoning all of them at Rajapur, plundering their factory, and demanding a large sum for their ransom.

The English East India Company was keen for the disposal of guns,[2] but as the Raja's power increased, and he became a dangerous neighbour of the English at Bombay, they were unwilling to supply any guns to him, since he was likely to use these against them or

1—2. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 137, 144, 337.

against Jinjira.' Therefore, they made several excuses for not selling any guns to him,[1]

They were often prohibited from supplying artillery and warlike provisions to the Maratha ruler by the Mogul Emperor and his Governors, and instead ordered to supply those stores to them.[2]

On his part Shivaji too did not like the English to come into trouble on account of him. He was anxious to keep the transactions secret, and arranged the purchase of guns through some Portuguese agents in 1671.[3] Two years later he sent his envoy Bhimaji Pandit to Bombay for securing two or three great guns, but he was told that these and other European goods could be supplied only if the Raja made peace with the English.[4]

Some time after Shivaji granted the English a Firman for trading in his territory with special privileges which were denied to others, yet they did not reciprocate their friendship with him. In November 1674, his envoy carried an extraodinarily kind letter and a rich present for the English President. He desired to buy 50 big iron guns from 40 to 60 cwts each and two great brass guns, but the authorities of Bombay refused to sell these, though they had 89 iron guns for sale. The negotiations on their sale were prolonged for four years from 1674 to 1678, and their motives for not disposing them are detailed in the letters of the period. We incidently learn that iron guns were sold at about Rs. 11 per cwt in 1674. In short, Shivaji experienced serious handicaps in purchasing guns from the English. Only in 1671 we hear of one indirect transaction in English guns. Two of these were sold to a Frenchman who disposed them to a Portuguese at Thana, and he in turn sold them to Shivaji at Rs. 5 per Surat Maund.[5]

These were really useless to the English, 'being very bad within: yet with their powder and stone-shot they may last a good while.' Next year too, old and defective guns with great holes in them were sold out. Similarly, in 1674 February honey-combed guns were disposed of.[6]

1-2. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 280, 375, 390, 395, 481.

3-6. Ibid, pp. 287, 385, 396, 428, 431.

The French had no such scruples to supply guns to Shivaji. In a letter of 5th September 1670 the English admitted that he might furnish himself with lead and guns from the French Factory at Rajapur, "but we will not bring ourselves into any intrigue." [1] Three years later in 1674 there is an entry of purchasing 2,000 maunds of lead and 88 small guns from the French.[2] The Governor of Surat, being offended with them, reported their conduct to the Emperor. Again, in December 1679 the French sold forty guns to Shivaji who also collected thirty pieces more from his several forts in the Konkan for strengthening Panhala against the impending Mogul invasion.[3]

Similarly, the Portuguese and the Dutch used to supply munition to various rulers. In 1663 the Savant[4] of Wadi asked for 2,000 lbs. ammunition from the Dutch for a war against Shivaji, while the Portuguese secretly helped the latter with ammunition during his war with Jaisingh.

37. Ordnance manufactured in state-factories:— These details bring out the difficulties experienced by the founder of the Maratha Empire in securing guns and warlike stores from the Europeans. He must have been manufacturing very large quantities of arms and gunpowder in state-factories. We learn from Jaisingh's letter that Shivaji had granted important posts in the army to the officers in charge of the manufacture of guns. At Purandar Ambaji and Kharkuli with their two brothers were officers of the rank of 3,000 each. They were entrusted with this work during Jaisingh's operations in 1665.[5] His forts and vessels must have got an adequate supply of cannon, while his army too must have been equipped with fire-arms. There is a mention of cannon-balls, bullets, fiery arrows, rockets, hand-grenades being used by the Marathas in various battles.[6] For the siege of Phonda Shivaji ordered a craft of forty small vessels to be present at Vingurla. The large ones carried four guns each.[7] Similarly, other ships were provided with cannon.

1-2. Eng. Rec. I, pp. 161, 318.

3-7. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 137, 210. In 1675 Shivaji captured the castle of Ankola which was defended by fifty brass guns.

5. P. S. S. I, p. 286.

4-6. Ibid, Part II, pp. 28, 91.

An interesting description of native guns and Portuguese gunners in Junner is already given from Fryer.[1] Shivaji too used to employ engineers from Goa for casting cannon, making gun-carriages and contriving mines in the walls of forts. He requested the English of Madras to send 20 or 25 such men for the fort of Ginji. Engineers from Goa were employed for building Sindhudurg. Jaisingh complained to the Portuguese that they supplied officers to Shivaji for the manufacture of ammunition. It is now evident that European and Indian experts were employed by the Maratha ruler in his munition-factories.

1. Shivaji, Part III, p. 134.

CHAPTER VII

The Financial System

1. Introductory remarks— Shivaji was not the inheritor but the creator of the Maratha empire that was composed of territories which were before under the rulers of Ahmednagar and Bijapur or the emperors of Delhi and Vijayanagar. Parts of Maharashtra and northern Konkan were annexed by Bijapur in 1636 after Shahji had surrendered to Shah Jahan the remnants of the Nizam Shahi kingdom. Thereafter Bijapur rulers captured portions of the tottering Vijayanagar empire where ultimately Shahji and his son Vyankoji became the prominent figures. Before the year 1672 the Maratha Swaraj consisted of the portions which belonged to the Nizam Shahi and Bijapuri kings, but after that year Shivaji took morsels of the Mogul and a large part of the defunct Vijayanagar empires. Thus the revenue systems of the four empires were prevalent in the Maratha Swaraj. Each had its own hierarchy of officials, different tenures, varying rates of assessment of land-revenue and other sources of public income. Shivaji was faced with the difficult task of bringing about financial unity out of this diversity, and of either revitalizing the old systems or replacing these by a new one. We will see that he played the part of a reformer as well as an innovator in the sphere of finance. Land revenue was the main source of the income of the central government in those days. Consequently the attention of every ruler was first drawn to it. The people of central Maharashtra had heavily suffered from the wars between the Nizam Shahi rulers and the Moguls. Large tracts of land were lying desolate. Crime had enormously increased. Oppression by officials and grandees had depressed trade and agriculture. Lands had to be repeopled and brought under cultivation by giving every sort of encouragement. The first important step taken by Shivaji was to have a survey of the lands, and to assess the taxes and other dues payable by the cultivators.

2. Three settlements were made at different times under Dadaji Kond Deva, Moropant Peshwa and Annaji Datto.[1] Each settlement must have been preceded by some kind of survey, though its nature and extent are not specified. Dadaji generally followed the principles of Malik Ambar's assessment in the fully settled territory, but in the case of new villages he granted liberal concessions to the cultivators. The main features of Ambar's system were:—(i) the classification of lands according to fertility; (ii) ascertainment of their produce; (iii) fixing the government share; (iv) the collection of rents in kind or money; and (v) the abolition of the intermediate collecting agents as farmers of revenue.

The rates charged by Kond Deva in the newly settled districts are stated to be one rupee per Bigha in the first year; Rs. 3 in the second, Rs. 6 in the third; Rs. 9 in the fourth; Rs. 10 in the fifth; Rs. 20 in the sixth; the same rate as paid by other tenants in the seventh and the rate assessed by Malik Ambar in the eighth year.[2] On these terms the reclamation of lands in the Mavals and Shivaji's estates in the central Maharashtra, was accomplished. It appears that the rate under Malik Ambar must have been about Rs. 25-30 per Bigha. These rates seem to be incredible. The tax of Rs. 25 per Bigha of the best lands extorted from the tenants must have been very excessive, when at present it is about five rupees. Since the people were familiar with the Rayatwari system and the fixed rates to be paid for various kinds of lands, the old system might have been continued for some years, till it was revised by Moropant. There are no papers available to throw light on the rates fixed by him, hence we have to pass on to the settlement which was undertaken by Annaji Datto in 1678.

3. Settlement by the people — Sabhasad suggests that before the new survey one-half of the produce was claimed by the state. As this demand was found to be oppressive, remissions were granted and a new settlement was introduced. The survey was not to be done by Brahman and Prabhu clerks as they were expected

1. Chitnis, p. 133.
2. Cf. P. S. S. III, pp. 12, 13, 19, 30, 42.

to proceed very slowly. It was entrusted to the Deshmukhs, Deshkulkarnis, Mukaddams, and officers in co-operation with the ryots. By eliminating clerks of the revenue department, the work was not only expedited, but the roots of curruption and oppression were totally destroyed. Reliance was placed upon the highest officers of revenue-collection who were to take the cultivators with them in the arduous operations of the survey. Thus the people, free from official terror and pressure, could have full representation in the survey and assessment. Hence it may be called the People's Settlement.

4. **Method of survey**:—(1) The commissioners were to go from village to village to ascertain the produce of each, measure the lands therein, and record the extent of arable land. (b) They were to divide the lands into three types, hilly, marshy, and the normal with black soil. (c) Each type was to be distributed into plots of the first, second, third and fourth class. (d) After carefully ascertaining the yield of each crop, field by field, the total estimate of the crops of each village was to be made. For this purpose both the autumnal and vernal crops and the variety of the stuffs produced therein were to be considered. (e) A comparison was to be instituted between the estimated produce and that current according to Malik Ambar's settlement in each village. (f) Further, the surveyors were to give an estimate of the probable increase in the produce if more labour and capital were applied to the tract.

5. **A new measuring rod for survey**:— Sabhasad has recorded the general practice of surveying all provinces for purposes of revenue-settlement. Annaji adopted the new standard of a measuring rod which was eighty *tansus* or five cubits and five fists long-a cubit was equal to 14 *tansus* and a fist equal to two *tansus*. Twenty rods square made one Bigha. One hundred and twenty Bighas made a *chavar*.[1] All villages were measured and surveyed by this new standard, and their area was recorded in *chavars*.[2]

1. A chavar consisted of Pads (पाड) and Biswas, but in another letter it is divided into Bighas. Sh. Ch. S. VII, pp. 78, 107.

2. Sen, Sh. Chh., pp. 36–37.

The measurement by a rope was liable to abuse, while the Muslim method of using a jarib or an iron chain was costly. Thus a cheap and reliable unit of measurement was introduced.

6. Introduction of the Rayatwari system:— The share of the government was two-fifths of the gross produce to be taken direct from the ryot. "In every village, from each individual ryot, the karkun should according to the assessment, realize the rent in grains from the crops at the time of harvest."[1] The Zamindari system was replaced by the Rayatwari. The ryots enjoyed freedom from extortion by officials, and had facility to pay the revenue in the form of grain at the harvest time. Though the share of the government, being 2/5, was high, yet it was lower than what was exacted before. Akbar first took one-third of the average produce, and eventually one-half. In the reign of Aurangzeb 50 per cent of the gross produce was the general standard. Thus the Maratha ruler gave relief, security, prosperity and happiness to the rack-rented peasantry in the Swaraj.

7. Classification of lands— (a) Arable lands were distinguished from uncultivable areas. These were divided into three kinds, and each kind of land was subdivided into four classes. (b) There was a further distinction between *Jirayat* and *Bagayat* lands, i. e., those meant for ordinary crops and for fruit gardens. (c) Then another classification was on the basis of irrigation; unirrigated lands, tracts irrigated with canal water (Patsthal) and with well-water (motsthal).[2] (d) A further sub-division was made from the view-point of the kind of crops raised. Each major and minor crop was to be estimated.

8. Basis of Assessment— The old unit of assessment was the plough. In this system an enquiry into the yield of crops was not necessary. The cultivator was assessed on the basis of the ploughs

1. Sen, Sh. Chh., pp. 36-37.

2. If the latter class of lands were cultivated with such costly crops as sugar-cane, plantains, ginger, termeric, they had to pay rent of 3 and 2 Hons per bigha for being watered by canals and wells respectively, but for the vegetable crops less tax was levied. Sh. Ch. S. VII, p. 115; Rajwade, Vol. XV.

he worked with irrespective of the quality of the land and the crop he raised on it. Even Aurangzeb did not abolish this system of plough-assessment in 1652, but kept it on for backward tracts. He introduced the sharing system and also that of cash-payments after measurement of good and middling lands. In the Maratha survey uncultivable waste lands were excluded from assessment. The people were, however, encouraged to bring them under cultivation. Such lands remained exempt from taxes for some time, but were ultimately subjected to a light assessment. Jervis remarks that *dongar* or hilly lands were assessed on the *nangar* or plough basis. He gives the following scale of taxes [1] :—

Nāchni at $3\frac{3}{4}$ maunds and 3 maunds.
Wari at 3 maunds and $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds.
Harik at 3 maunds.
Other inferior produce at $1\frac{1}{4}$ maunds.

(4) We find that Shivaji introduced both the differential method of sharing the crops and of charging cash-rates on the estimated produce of cultivated lands.

The preceding statements regarding survey are fully confirmed by Major Jervis. Says he, "It is commonly believed indeed, that he (Shivaji) measured and classified all the lands, and then ascertained the amount of their produce from one or two villages in each Muhal of the Ouchitgurh, Rajpooree, Rygurh, Soowurndroog, Unjunvel, Rutnagiri and Veejydroog districts, for three successive years, from which data he established the rates, half in kind, half at a fixed commutation rate differing in each Talooka, to be paid by the beegah of each sort of land. The classification of the rice lands, *mule* or *dhemp*, under 12 heads; the four first still retaining their former well-known distinctions." [2] The twelve sorts of rice lands were assessed at $12\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha for the best land and 5 maunds for the worst.

The second crops on first class lands were assessed at different rates, such as, turmeric and hemp at 5 maunds per bigha and

1-2. Jervis, Geog. and Statistical Memoir in the Konkun, pp. 94-97.

sugarcane at 6½ to 3½ maunds of jagaree per bigha. Thus the rates differed with crops and the quality of lands.

For the first time an attempt was made to have a scientific survey of all lands in every village of the Swaraj. Though the work must have remained unaccomplished, the adoption of such a scheme was highly creditable to Annaji Datto. He lightened the burden of the cultivators and yet increased the income of the state by carefully fixing the crop-share and cash rents to be given by them. The crucial problem of collecting the revenue remained to be tackled. The general practice of those days was to collect it through farmers, and not by state-officials directly.

9. Prevalence of the farming system— Sabhasad has briefly described the old system of farming revenue and the evils accruing from it in these words :

"In the Adilshahi, Nizam-Shahi and Mogul territories conquered by Shivaji, the ryots used to be under the Patils, Kulkarnis and Deshmukhs. They used to collect the revenue and pay an unspecified sum to the state. For instance, for a village yielding 2,000 Hons as revenue, the Mirasdars used to pay only 200 or 300 Hons to government. Therefore these Mirasdars grew wealthy and powerful by building bastions, castles, and strong-holds and enlisting troops. They did not care to wait upon the revenue officers, rather they used to resist them whenever more revenue was demanded from them. They grew unruly, and forcibly misappropriated the lands." Ramchandra Pant too has strongly condemned the Watandari system. "They fortify their places, rob travellers, loot territories and fight desperately. They make peace with a foreign invader with a desire to protect their Watans and help him in every possible manner."

These statements are buttressed by contemporary evidence from the Dutch records on the oppressive and deplorable system of the Bijapur government.

"The governors represent and replace the lords in towns, villages and hamlets. The office of governor is often let on lease

by the lords for want of money, because they have no capital. This system does not work well, as it gives rise to abuses, extortion and grinding down of the population. The King favours a lord by means of firmans with large territories of which the revenue is reserved for him in exchange for some services. His office is not an hereditary one, but a mere favour on the part of the King. Some lords practically conduct themselves as if they were independent."

"Each takes the appearance of being a king, and after having committed divers crimes by robbing, murdering, burning and devastating the land to their hearts' content, they appear at court, where they are praised for being brave soldiers, if they know how to oil His Majesty's palm. This practice is daily increasing more and more and has taken so very deep a root that the king (who is simply adorned with the crown) is unable to prevent this, for if he deprives some Lords of their dignities, they instantly take refuge with Shivaji, Bahlol Khan or some other of the afore-mentioned subjects, by whom they are at once favoured with some dignities."

In Golconda the oppressions on the peasants were no less destructive of prosperity and humanity. According to William Methwold 'the government is farmed immediately from the King by some eminent man, who to other inferiors farmeth out the lesser ones, and they again to the country-people, at such excessive rates that it is most lamentable to consider what toil and misery the wretched souls endure. For if they fall short of any part of their rent, what their estates cannot satisfy, their bodies must, so it sometimes happens they are beaten to death, or, absenting themselves, their wives, children, fathers, brothers, and all their kindred are engaged in the debt, and must satisfy or suffer. And sometimes it so happens that the Principal, failing with the King, receives from him the like punishment, as it befell to one Basbell Raw (Governor at Masulipatam since the English traded thither), who, for defect of full payment, was beaten with canes upon the back, feet, and belly, until he died. Yet hold they not these their governments by lease, for yearly in July all are exposed in sale unto him that bids most; from whence it happeneth that every

Governor, during his time, exacts by tolls taken in the way and other oppressions whatsoever they can possibly extort from the poorer inhabitants, using what violence within their governments they shall think fit; for in them, during their time, they reign as petty kings."[1]

10. Watans:— From ancient times the custom of holding hereditary Watans was prevalent in the Deccan. Hundreds of village officers and high government servants were given lands, rights and privileges for a certain service performed in the past or being performed in the interest of the village or the government. Such grants were kown as Watans. In the villages the Patil, Kulkarni, Mahar, Chougula, Chaudhari, Ramoshi, black-smith, gold-smith, carpenter, washerman, watchman, barber, potter, shoe-maker, tailor, oilman, Joshi, Kazi, Mahajan, etc., were the Watandars, while Desais, Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Desh-kulkarnis, etc., were the district officers who held hereditary Watans. Grants of rent-free lands or share of the government revenue were given to these. If the rent of a tract of land was given over to a state-servant for the maintenance of troops and forts, it was called *Fauj Saranjam*, but if it was meant for the support of the family or dignity of the grantee, it was known as *Jat Saranjam*. The holders of both kinds of Inams formed the landed aristocracy enjoying rights, dues and perquisites which gave them power to oppress the ryots on the one hand and to weaken the central government on the other.

Shivaji deprived the fief-holdiers of their administrative powers. Though he did not confiscate their estates, he discontinued the system of granting Inam lands or estates, and displaced them by cash payments. His policy has been rightly stated by his minister Ramachandra Pant. "The existing Watans should be continued, but the power of the Watandars over the people should be done away with."[2] This conciliatory policy was adopted by Shivaji. He demolished all fortified places of the Watandars, or posted his

1. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, pp. 241-2.
2. Polity, pp. 33-34.

own garrisons in important forts. No administrative authority was left in their hands. He prohibited all that the Watandars used to take at their sweet will, fixed the rates of their dues in cash and grains, and specified the rights and perquisites of the various officers from Kulkarni to Deshmukh according to the yield of the village.[1]

Similarly, military officers were given no political power over the tenants. "The Surnaubats, Majumdars, Karkuns and men on the personal staff of the Raja were given assignments on land revenue for their salary. The lands cultivated by them were taxed like those of the ryots, and sum due from them as revenue was deducted from their pay. The balance of their dues was paid from the central treasury or the district establishments. In this manner their annual accounts were punctually settled. Mokasa Mahals or villages with absolute proprietary rights should never be granted to men serving in the army, the militia and the fort establishments. Their payments should be paid by varats or with cash from the treasury. None but the Karkuns should have any authority over the lands. All payments to the military men should be made by the Karkuns. The grant of Mokasa would create unruly peasants. They would grow strong and disobey the revenue regulations. If the ryots grew powerful, there would be disturbances at various places. The Mokasa-holders and the Zamindars would become unruly. Therefore Mokasas should not be granted to anybody."[2]

Shivaji completely abolished the farming system, collected all revenue through the central agency, made effective arrangements to reduce corruption, and provided for the inspection of revenue records by the district and central officials. Having cleaned the Augean stable of all harpies who were eating away the financial vitality of the state, he boldly dealt with the landed aristocracy.

Besides granting civil and military Inams, the rulers used to make *religious endowments*. These were assignments of the whole or part of revenue of a village or town made by the government for

1-2. Sen, Sh. Chh., 34, 38.

religious purposes. Both the Muslim and Hindu rulers showed zeal for their religion by being liberal in such grants. (1) Temples, mosques, monasteries, hermitages of saints, sacred places where saints were buried, alms-houses where free food was distributed to Sadhus and travellers, and other religious institutions were granted income from lands or given money from the treasury.

2. Grants were made to Vedic scholars for encouragement of learning.

3. Saints like Ramdas, Keshav, Yaqub, etc, were given lands or money for their expenses. Mauni Baba of Patgaon was given by Shivaji in 1677 an annual donation of provisions sufficient to feed one thousand visitors, 18 hons p. a. for three assistants in 1679, and 125 Hons p. a. in 1680 for a musician and a few palanquin bearers.

4. Physicians were sometimes conferred concessions for their service to the poor. There are six Sanads of Inam lands given to one Brahman physician family by Muslim rulers and then by Shivaji from 1618 onwards. Thus even Muslim rulers used to confer pensions and lands upon Hindu as well as Muslim physicians. Shivaji followed the same practice.[1]

Ramchandra Pant has most emphatically condemned the grants of lands even for religious purposes. "Therefore a king who wishes to rule a kingdom, to increase it and to acquire fame as one who is skilled in politics, should not at all get infatuated and grant land to he extent of even a barley corn."[2] Consequently, Shivaji donated cash and not lands to the deserving men. His donations to numerous saints wi illustrate the tendency.

11. The agrarian reforms of Shivaji can now be summarized as follows :—

(1) The systems of the sale of offices and of farming revenue were abolished.

1. P. S. S. III, 125, 143-4.
2. Polity, p. 36.

(2) The practice of bestowing Jagirs was reduced to the minimum and the Zamindari system was displaced by the Ryotwari one.

(3) The fief-holders were deprived of all political or revenue power over their tenants. Thus the worst features of the Jagir system were removed.

(4) Agriculture was promoted by the system of Tagavi loans and free grants of lands to induce new cultivators and to help the tenants in times of need. Cattle were given to the new ryots who came to settle on the lands. Grain and money for the purchase of seeds and for their maintenance were lent. The sums were realized in two or four years according to the means of the debtor.[1]

(5) Remission of rent due to famine, scarcity or destruction of crops by the armies was the usual policy of the Maratha government. This practice was prevalent in the Muslim and Hindu kingdoms. It is not possible to know the extent to which the policy was worked in practice for the relief of the peasants.[2]

(6) Waste lands were reclaimed ; new villages and market places were founded; traders, artisans, money-lenders etc., were induced to settle in the Maratha territory. All these people were given concessions, remission of revenue, and certain rights for the security of their property and the development of their industry. Thus the state followed the enlightened policy of improving agriculture, trade, and industry.

(7) A great encouragement to agriculture was given on account of the growing demand for provisions by the ever-increasing army and navy.

(8) The people must have migrated from the Bijapur and Mogul territories as there they were subject to the plundering depredations of the Marathas. Since they could have security, safety and prosperity in the Hindu Swaraj, some must have come over there to escape from the constant horrors of war.

1. Sen, Sh. Chh., p. 37.

2. Sen, Ad. S. M., p. 67. A few Marathi letters of Adilshahi regime are published on pp. 37, 38, 61, 63, 65 of P. S. S. III.

(9) Shivaji brought prosperity to the rural areas by employing the people in the army and engaging them for about six months in the year in conquering expeditions. These people must have become more energetic, enterprising and fearless. Their visits to different parts of India must have widened their outlook with respect to life in general and agriculture in particular.

(10) Their perquisites and several Inam rights in the form of cesses and fees were abolished.

(11) All dues of the fief-holdiers were to be paid directly by the state and were not to be realized by them directly from the tenants.

(12) The plough-unit of assessment was generally displaced by the sharing or cash-payment system.

(13) Lands were surveyed by the new unit of the rod and the system of cash-payments was introduced for some crops and certain areas.

(14) The share of the government was reduced in comparison to what it was before.

(15) Besides remission of revenue Tagkavi loans were advanced by the state to improve agriculture and help the tenants.

(16) Assessment was made with the help of the people, so that government interference was reduced to the minimum in estimating the average produce of cultivated lands.

(17) Cases arising out of land disputes, money-dealings and criminal assaults were mainly settled by the jury system. Cheap, impartial and prompt justice was meted out to the people.

(18) New villages and towns were founded, waste lands were reclaimed, deserted villages were re-peopled. Various kinds of inducements were given to the settlers.

(19) Prosperity was brought within the grasp of all the classes of the people by creating employment for them in the army, navy, forts, civil administration and in the state factories.

Mr. Pringle Kennedy has rightly said that 'the peasant knew what he had to pay and he seems to have been able to pay this without any great oppression." [1] He is supported by Jervis who remarks that 'in the midst of all this confusion, warfare, and general disloyalty, the state of revenue and population is said to have prospered." Grant Duff too does not support the views of Dr. Fryer and the Muslim writers. "The Mahomedan writers, and one contemporary English traveller, describe his (Shivaji's) country as in the worst possible state; and the former only mention him as a depredator and destroyer; but those districts taken by him from Beejapoor, which had been under the management of farmers and direct agents of government, probably experienced great benefit by the change." [2]

Public Revenue

12 Heads of income:— Having dealt with the main source of revenue, we proceed to discuss other heads of public income available to the central government during our period.

Income from culturable domain lands formed part of the land revenue and therefore does not require any explanation. Other sources of revenue were quite numerous. These have been classified below.

1. Customs
2. Transit duties
3. Excise
4. Judicial fees and fines for criminality
5. Forest revenue
6. Profits of mintage
7. Sales of offices
8. Presents by subjects and officers.
10. Booty in war.
11. Plunder of hostile territories.
12. Escheat
13. Forfeitures
14. Piracy and capture of ships.
15. Ship-wrecks.
16. Treasure-trove, fisheries and mines.
17. Monopolies
18. Private trade
19. Chauth and Sardeshmukhi
20. Various kinds of cesses.

1. History of the Great Moguls, II, p. 125.
2. Duff, p. 105.

13. The Customs levied by the Maratha government at the seaports, were quite low. The prevalent rate was 2½ per cent on imports and exports, and this was charged from the English who stipulated to pay the usual duties in all places. This is confirmed by Peter Mundy who states that in 1655 the customs duty at Rajapur was 2½ per cent. It appears that the English secured the concession of not paying export duties on their unsold goods, and of duty-free export of provisions, timber and fire-wood. They desired to procure freedom from transit dues on their imports, but if this privilege could not be obtained, they were content to secure the same privileges as to customs and other matters which they enjoyed under the Bijapur government. These were probably incorporated in the treaty, and granted by Shivaji on the plea of being traditional.[1]

In their Sanad obtained from Shivaji the English were careful to insert one clause which shows that customs officers used to harass merchants for exacting money and presents from them. Dr. Fryer bitterly complains of the dishonesty and grabbing spirit of the customs officers of the Maratha kingdom. "They are neither for public good or common honesty, but their own private interest only: They refuse no base offices for their own commodity, inviting merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them, or else turmoil them on account of customs; always in a corner getting more for themselves than their Master, yet openly must seem mighty zealous for their Master's dues; so that trade is unlikely to settle where he bath anything to do not with standing his country lies all along on the sea-shore, and no goods can be transported without his permission; unless they go a great way about, as we are forced to do." [2]

European travellers like Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, Manucci and others have frequently complained of the exlortions, bribes, villany and harrassing treatment of the customs officers at Surat and other places

The contemporary documents are full of complaints regarding delay in clearing goods or over-valuation and compulsory sale

1-2. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 37-39 41, 45.

Shivaji had an efficient system of espionage. He had spies and news-writers in every important centre to inform him of all that was happening in the administration. Then there was a strict system of supervision, and his officers used to get decent salaries. If in spite of all these precautions, there was so much corruption as has been depicted by Dr. Fryer, it must be attributed to the method of farming customs.

As the fixing of the prices of goods depended upon the customs officers who were the minions of a farmer to whom the customs were let on contract, exactions and harassment were natural in this system. There was probably a Darogha-customs Superintendent on behalf of the government to settle the disputes in every important port. If Shivaji followed the Mogul practice of farming the customs of each port, the corruption of the officers can be easily understood.[1] Moreland has thus summed up his conclusions on the taxation system of Akbar. "But in actual practice, the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent *ad valorem* tax on goods levied by Akbar was a more crushing tariff than any tariff that is levied to-day in any civilized country. Uncertainty of taxes; the wide range of taxes; the insatiable greed of officials; the frequency of taxes levied by powerful individuals on their own account; the multiplicity of taxes; and the weak protection of life and property on the King's highways and in the King's Courts; all these were bound to kill all enterprise and initiative in trade."

14. Transit duty known as Rahdari or Zakat in Marathi, was a small tax on goods and animals passing from one place to another, but it grew to be a very burdensome and an oppressive levy on account of the search of persons and packages and the presents demanded by the officers. Hundreds of English and Dutch documents condemn this universal practice. The Europeans tried to secure exemption from the payment of transit dues in the territory wherein they had commercial dealings, but Indians had no escape from them.

1. The values of goods imported and exported by the English were to be fixed at every custom house by favourable merchants. If this was the general practice, it must have given much relief to all the merchants.

The famous Muslim historian Khafi Khan writes that "the Rahdari was condemned by righteous and just men as a most vexatious impost, and oppressive to travellers. Through the villany and oppression of the toll-collectors and the Zamindars, the property, the honour, and the lives of travellers and peaceful wayfarers were frittered away." We have no evidence to show how far the evils of this oppressive levy were mitigated in the Maratha Swaraj.[1]

15. Excise Duties:—It has already been shown that Shivaji was deadly opposed to the use of intoxicants by his soldiers and officers, but there is no evidence available to prove that the common people were prohibited from using liquors. The Peshwas later on followed the prohibitory policy. The sale of liquor like its manufacture, must have been taxed. When there were taxes on ordinary shop-keepers, liquor-sellers could not be exempted from them. We have no evidence on the control of the sale of intoxicants like opium, Bhang, Ganja, Charas, etc. The income from excise duty must have been a small one. The rate of a tax on liquor shops in the town of Athni is given [2] in a Marathi document.

16. Judicial fees:— The winning party had to pay Harki and the losing party paid Gunehgari or crime fine.

In adultery cases contributions, fines, harkis, etc., used to be taken by the government.

Then Harki and Shela were imposed by the government for the penance prescribed by the Ecclesiastical Department.

The amount of these presents and fines charged in various cases can be partially known from the study of documents. In civil cases the government used to take about 25% of the sum in dispute during the Peshwa period, but no information is available for the regime of Shivaji.[3]

1. A letter of 1681 names officers employed for collection of transit duties. They were ordered not to charge duties on certain cattle. Sh. Ch. S., II, pp. 181, 187, 385.

2. Sh. Ch. S., II, 370. 3. Sanads and Letters by M. & P. Pp. 128-130.

17. Forest revenue must have accrued from the sale of trees, herbs, myrobalans, pepper, spices and other products. Similarly, some income must have been realized from pasture-lands paying *Vancharai* cess on the grazing of cattle.

18. The profits of mintage could not have been large, since the right was given to rich goldsmiths by taking a royalty. The royal mint which seems to have been established after the coronation, must have increased the income from this source.

19. The sale of offices was a very common practice in Muslim kingdoms. Large sums were paid by the new occupants to squeeze merchants, peasants and people in general to their hearts' content in the shortest passible time, so that when they were replaced by others, they should have sufficiently enriched themselves. In 1616 one man had to pay 800 Hons as a present for securing the Patilship of a village.[1] 1200 Hons were given for the same village in 1643.[2] Two years' revenue was given as a present [3] in another case. Shivaji did not generally follow this practice.

20. The presents given by the English, the officers and the people to Shivaji at his coronation, by the Europeans in his Karnatic expedition, by the ruler of Golconda at interviews with him, need mention here as examples.

21. Contributions and tributes by states— The Bijapur and Golconda kingdoms used to pay him annual tribute and contributions, as well as special subsidies for carrying on war against the Moguls. He obtained tribute from the rulers of Sunda and Madura for some years. The Golconda subsidy of 3,000 Hons a day for the Karnatic war, is quite well-known. The annual tribute of one lakh Hons paid by Golconda [4] from 1677, is worth mentioning. Shivaji demanded from the Portuguese 'his tribute of choutry (chauth) or the fourth part of the revenue of their country.' This was not the chauth for Daman, but for the whole country under the Portuguese rule.[5]

1-3. P. S. S. III, 12, 30, 41.
4. Sarkar, Shivaji, pp. 289, 295.
5. Shivaji, Part III, p. 30.

22. Booty in war— The enormous plunder obtained by the Marathas in the wars with Afzal Khan, Rustum Zaman, Shaista Khan, Bahadur Khan and several Bijapur generals is now well-known to the reader.

23. Plunder and ransom—The sacks of Rajapur, Surat, Raibag, Hubli, the Portuguese territory, Shahpur-the richest suburb of Bijapur, Dharangaon, Chhapra, Ahmednagar, are the most famous events in the political career of Shivaji. He plundered the Karnatic so thoroughly that it was 'peeled to the bones' by his system of 'organized pillage.' The capture of the treasures led by Baji Ghorpade and the loot of Shaista's camp form romances by themselves.

Large sums of money were often secured as ransom for releasing the prisoners of war. Then gifts were usually received from the people of the newly conquered parts.

24. Escheat:—The principle that the state is the proprietor of all the property to which individual claims are lost, has been prevalent in all countries. The Hindu law recognizes it, though it was very much limited on account of the extremely liberal laws of succession and adoption in case of intestate death of issueless persons.

The Mogul Emperor was the heir to the property of all his subjects even in cases where the progeny of the deceased existed. Here is the evidence of Bernier. "The courtiers are often not even descendants of Omrahs, because, the King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the Omrah's death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally, we might almost say, to beggary, and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry of some Omrah.

The Omrahs, therefore, mostly consist of adventurers from different nations who entice one another to the court; and are generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education. The Mogol raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice." [1]

1. Travels, p. 211.

Shivaji was very liberal in granting concessions to the people in the matter of escheat. We have a few letters on the settlement of new markets and towns. The merchants are given the right to dispose of the property in cases of issueless persons according to the award of the traders' Panchayat.[1]

Even a Brahman Jyotishi in case of being issueless is given in 1659 the right of disposing of his hereditary rights and property according to the wishes of his family.[2]

Another sanad of 1685 confers the full and complete right of enjoying the property of the grantee in case of dying issueless to his relatives, the government having no claim to it.[3]

By renouncing his claim to escheats, Shivaji encouraged trade and secured contentment among his subjects.

25. Forfeitures of Watans and Inams (Watan zapti) were usual for disloyalty to the throne. Shivaji in curtailing the powers of the feudal lords, might have forfeited some Inams, but he followed a conciliatory policy to win over the old aristocrats to his cause. All orders of confiscation and restoration of property were written by the Private Secretary of the Raja. A present (Nazar) was usually offered by the adopted and even perhaps by the natural sons on succession. This worked as a succession duty. At the time of the grant of new watans or of the confirmation of an old watan, Harki or Sherni were charged by the government.[4]

26. Piracy and deliberate capture of ships—Shivaji's exploits in capturing the Pilgrim vessels of the Moguls and the Portuguese ships have already been described. The depredations of the Maratha fleet on the enemy coast were constantly going on. The English in their treaty with Shivaji made a special stipulation to the effect that their goods laden on ships belonging to other Europeans or the Indian people would be restored to them and that they too would restore the goods belonging to Shivaji or his subjects if laden on any ship captured by them.[5]

1-3. Sh. Ch. S., II, 304, 345, 370, 374, 384, 386; cf. P. S. S. III, p. 3.
4. Sanads and Letters by M. and Parasnis, p. 128.
5. Shivaji, Part III, p. 24, 40.

27. Shipwrecks—The English took special pains in persuading the ministers of Shivaji to restore the ships wrecked or cast by storm on the shores of the Maratha kingdom. The ministers rightly argued that the French, the Dutch and other merchants would have to be granted the same privilege. This could not be granted as "it was positively against the laws and constitutions that had been handed down to them from the Nizamshahi kingdom and by which they were then governed." [1]

28. Treasure-trove, fisheries and mines:— The right to hidden treasure has always been claimed by the state in India from time immemorial.

In a letter of 1737 many traditional dues of the government are mentioned. Income from forests, fisheries, mines and treasure-trove are among the list.[2]

29. Monopolies:—In the Mogul Empire the Emperor and Governors used to have monopolies of various kinds in their own hands or in those of their favourites. Shaista Khan monopolized the bazaar that followed his own camp in the Deccan wars.[3]

30. Maritime trade:—The Marathi documents of the period do not throw any light on the point, nor do the Europeans refer to any monopolies enjoyed by Shivaji. Even in 1665 the English records inform us that Shiva had possession of 8 or 9 ports on the sea shore and "from every port he used to send two or three or more trading vessels to Persia, Basra, Mocha, etc." Thus in 1665 from twenty to thirty ships were engaged in the foreign trade. Their number must have increased with the wealth, power and prestige of the Raja. Even his officers sent ships to Persia and Arabia on their own behalf.

The government must have levied fees for the entry and stay of ships and boats in the waters and ports under its sovereignty. This income must have increased with the extension of the kingdom and the growth of the coastal as well as sea-borne trades.

1. Shivaji, Part III, p. 24.
2. Sh. Ch. S., II, p. 304.
3. English Records, I, p. 91.

The Chauth

31. Origin of Chauth— A detailed history of the Chauth and of Shivaji's demand for the same from the Portuguese have already been discussed.[1] It is interesting to note that even Aurangzeb had claimed Chauth in 1639 from the people of Daman. He lived at Daulatabad as Viceroy of the Deccan for more than three years, and yet the Portuguese did not offer any present to him. The Moguls had conquered the principality of Baglan and all the district round Daman. Thereupon the prince deputed Mir Murad with 5,000 horse and as many foot to chastise the Portuguese by laying siege to Daman. Aurangzeb asked the Dutch to blockade the town from the sea. He promised to gratify them with 200,000 rupees in ready money, '*the quarter part of the provenue of the whole country*' and customs of the goods imported and exported by them,[2] but the Dutch did not give that help. The Moguls could not reduce the place even after a close siege of five months and then they were afraid of reprisals by the Portuguese on their merchant shipping. But the people of Daman were much harassed by the war, and hence they hastened to make peace with the Mogul commander. "The Portugal inhabitants of Daman had obliged themselves to pay the Prince the same rent they were accustomed to give the Raja of that country, viz., 60,000 Muhmudis *said to be the quarter part of the provenue of that land.*"[3] Thus Aurangzeb got the right of collecting the Chauth which is wrongly called rent in the preceding letter. It was this very right which Shivaji claimed when he conquered the Ramnagar territory and put an end to the Mogul sovereignty in the Konkan.

32. Nature of Chauth— Before and during the time of Shivaji, Chauth was a contribution exacted by a strong prince from the people of a state to give immunity from his raids. As the Raja of Ramnagar was collecting Chauth from some villages of Daman and Bassein, for giving immunity to their

1. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 524-531.
2. O. C. 1658, 15th January 1639; O. C. 1725, 9 December 1639.
3. E. F. Vol. 1637-41, p. 214.

inhabitants from the marauding expeditions of his forces, he was known 'Chauthia' or one who collected Chauth. Shivaji, after capturing the territory of Ramnagar in 1672, claimed this Chauth from the Portuguese who were the rulers of Daman and Bassein. He adopted and extended this system with the twofold object of mitigating the evil consequences of war and of securing a regular source of revenue for the maintenance of his army. Thus he gave an opportunity to the subjects of hostile countries to pay an annual contribution for buying off immunity from the raids of the Maratha forces and thereby escape from loot, arson, fire, massacre and other horrors of war.

According to Manucci Shivaji had obtained a grant of Chauth in the Mogul Deccan as early as 1658. "He sent Shivaji presents, together with a golden tablet, by which he granted to him the collection of a fourth part of the revenues of some provinces in the Deccan province, then held by Aurangzeb. This grant was to be perpetual; all the same, the time came when he broke his word according to his habit." It appears that Shivaji used to collect this chauth from some parts of the Mogul territories, because during the rebellion of Shah Alam he promised not to realize any more of the revenue than what was conceded to him by Aurangzeb.[1]

It is certain that Shivaji had knowledge of the Chauth contribution before 1664, because he demanded it from Aurangzeb to save Surat from his raids in that year. Soon after the first loot of this richest port, Shivaji threatened to rape it once more unless the king would give him peaceably "*the fourths of what he receives of the town and country yearly* which is too dishonourable for the king to accept." The Great Mogul not only discarded this presumptuous demand, but sent another big army under the able generalship of Raja Jaisingh to crush this dreadful raider. The latter bided his time, till in 1670 he was able to re-plunder Surat. On his departure he sent a letter[2] to the officers and chief merchants demanding twelve lacs of rupees as an annual tribute

1. Manucci, I, 247; II, 25, 165.
2. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 293, 323, 326, 345.

from them, and confidently assured them of his return if they did not pay the same to him.

It is now evident that the tribute demanded from the authorities of Surat in 1664 and 1670 was no other than Chauth. The sum claimed in different years as 'Chauth' varied considerably. In 1670 it was 12 lakhs; and two years later, it was reduced to 3 lakhs annually, so that nine lakhs were demanded by Moro Pant as 'Chauth' for the past three years.[1]

In 1672 after a successful invasion of Ramnagar, Moro Pant advanced towards Surat and once more "demanded the Chouthy or ¼th part of the king's revenues under this government which amounts to four lakhs." The same news is conveyed by the Surat Factors to Bombay with an additional information for showing the cause of collecting the contribution. Shivaji declared that "as their king (Aurangzeb) had forced him to keep an army for the defence of his people and country, so that army must be paid and if they sent him not the money speedily, he bid them make ready a large house for him."[2]

There are several evidences available from the English records that Shivaji gave immunity from plunder to all those places which agreed to pay him the Chauth. During his plundering expedition in the Berars and Khandesh in 1670, he refrained from looting towns and villages near Karanja and Nandurbar as these gave him writings for payment of Chauth of the revenues thereof.[3] Kolhapur and Sangaon redeemed themselves from the fury of the Maratha forces by paying presents in 1675. The Governor of Hubli made peace with Shivaji by paying him ¼th part of the revenues of the Hubli Vilayat in 1678.

A few months after, the Governor of Karwar gave a present to the Maratha Subedar, otherwise the latter would have burnt and ransacked the town.[4] Finally, there is the most irrefutable testimony of the Chhapra letter dated 24th February 1680 that the Maratha

1. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 292, 323, 326, 345.
2-4. Ibid. pp. 1[illegible] 283, 292-3.

forces "plundered and burnt most fo these parts, excepting the towns which pay ¼th part, those he meddles not." [1] Thus the demand for ¼th part of the revenue of Surat was first made by Shivaji in 1664 and renewed in 1670. In this year it was actually imposed for the first time on the territory immediately subject to the Moguls and was extended to the various districts which were liable to Maratha excursions.

33. Wrong notions regarding Chauth— 'The first pretension of Shivaji was to levy from the Rayats as Sar Deshmukhi, ten rupees for every hundred levied by the Government. This was afterwards followed by a demand of the fourth of the collections, which at length was yielded by the Moghuls. The fourth thus acquired is called by the Marathas the Chauth: it was immediately divided by the prince with his ministers and Sardars.' [2]

This view of Elphinstone is erroneous with regard to facts and chronology. The name 'Chauth' was not given by the Marathas, but as shown previously, was extant long before their rise to power. Shivaji did not divide the Chauth income with his ministers and Sardars. This practice began with Rajaram. The Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb never consented to pay Chauth to Shivaji, but it was his successor who conceded the grant to Shahu. Then there is no evidence to show that Shivaji forcibly collected Sardeshmukhi previous to his demand for Chauth in 1664.

The history of Chauth given by the late Justice Ranade in the 'Rise of the Maratha Power' is also not based on facts. He writes that in 1668 the Bijapur Adilshahi kings agreed to pay three lakhs of rupees on account of Chauth and Sardeshmuki and the Golconda ruler agreed to pay five lakhs about the same time. The Bakhars use the word 'Khandani,' subsidy or tribute. There is no mention of either Chauth or Sardeshmukhi at this time.

Similarly, he says that both these levies were exacted from the Mogul province of Khandesh in 1671, the Portuguese possessions

1. Shivaji, III, p. 212.
2. Elphinstone, Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa, pp. 284–5.

in the Konkan in 1674, and in the Karnatic in 1676. Shivaji levied Chauth but not Sardeshmukhi from these territories.

Dr. Sen has rightly observed that the Chauth paid to Ramnagar was not a tribute, but a pension, and the 'Chauthia' Raja was a vassal of the Portuguese. It was a subsidy like the one which the Indian Government has been paying to the tribes for keeping peace and order on the frontier. Shivaji merely got the idea from this practice, but he gave it a different connotation and used it on an extensive scale. He made it an impost, collected it at the point of the sword, extended it to all those places which were to be plundered and thus afforded an opportunity to the people to buy off immunity from his raids by the payment of the Chauth. Hence this levy assumed a new form and, in time, became an essential part of the Maratha financial system. For this reason Shivaji can be called the originator and organizer of the Chauth system.

Moreover, this contribution had no features common to the subsidiary system introduced by the British in India, because this was generally levied by force; it was not a voluntary payment in return for military protection. This was collected from the people directly and against the will and order of the rulers, while the contribution under the subsidiary system was made to the British under an agreement with the ruler himself. The suzerain was bound to defend the ruler from internal disorder and external aggression. Under the system of Chauth Shivaji only undertook not to raid the territory himself. Further, there was no binding on the ruler not to enter into correspondence or alliance with other rulers-indigenous or foreign. Lastly, there was no stipulation by the rulers not to employ foreigners in their civil or military service. It is evident that no similarity exists between the Chauth and the subsidiary system.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that in theory Chauth was not a claim for one-fourth of the land revenue but 'of all the incomes,' as is clear from the three examples of Surat, Hubli and Nandurbar given before. From the Portuguese too he demanded fourth part of

the revenue of their country in 1674, while four years later, he ransacked the whole territory from Aurangabad to Surat and levied Chauth 'of all the incomes.'[1]

In practice it would have been impossible to estimate the total incomes of villages and towns within the short time of a lightning raid. Therefore the Maratha officers had to be satisfied with whatever they could extort from the people.

34. Economic collapse of the Mogul Empire—While the forcible levy of Chauth by the Marathas enriched Shivaji and his subjects, it soon brought about the economic bankruptcy of the Mogul Empire. Surat, though defended by a wall and well-fortified in 1669, was plundered second time as the Chauth was not paid. From that year onwards the Marathas were often threatening the town, because they did not receive the contribution. These raids destroyed the trade and prosperity of the richest port, and created a sense of insecurity among the people. The rich and the poor left for the growing city of Bombay, and Surat began to decline. The territories of Ahmednagar, Aurangabad, Khandesh and Berars were often pillaged, burnt and destroyed by the Marathas. Trade, industry and agriculture were dislocated. The people were reduced to abject poverty and the government to financial bankruptcy by a sharp decline in revenue.

The fall in the income of the Deccan Subas and the continuous wars against Shivaji compelled Aurangzeb to increase the burden of taxes on his subjects and to revive the levy of the poll-tax or Jazia on the Hindus. The economic and political consequences leading to the decline of the Mogul Empire are thus directly traceable to the system of Chauth.

Sardeshmukhi

35. Sardeshmukhi a hereditary office:—We learn from a document[2] containing the judicial order of Shivaji himself that Rango Naik Mavlangkar be given the right of collecting Sardeshmukhi from the districts of Prabhavali and Dabhol. As

1. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 30, 182.
2. P. S. S. Doc. 887.

this right had been enjoyed for generations by that family, it was evidently a very ancient one. From the Sardesai Family History (Part I, p. 43) it appears that one Krishnaji Narsingh who was a contemporary of the Shilahar King Vijayaditya of Kolhapur (1142–1154 A. D.), obtained the Deshmukhi and Sardeshmukhi of seventy villages. Thus the system of giving grants for Sardeshmukhi can be traced to the 12th century A. D. Besides the Mavlangkars, Khem Savant was Sardesai of Kudal as is evident from a document of the year 1635–36. A generation later in 1659, a treaty was made between Shivaji and Lakham Savant Sardesai Bahadur.[1] But the hereditary title and office were not limited to the Konkan as is asserted by the late distinguished historian C. V. Vaidya. He was sure that there were no Sardeshmukhs in Maharashtra before or in Shivaji's time, but this statement is contradicted by the following evidence.

36. Sardeshmukhs in Maharashtra— (i) One Deshmukh of Kanadkhore was given Inam of Sardeshmukhi of Anturli village by Dadaji Kond Deva, the Subedar of Kondana, in 1645.[2]

(ii) That there were Sardeshmukhs in the Mavals different from Deshmukhs, is seen from a letter written by Shivaji in 1652 to the Karkuns, *Sardeshmukhs*, Deshmukhs, Desh Kulkarnis, etc., of Turf Mosekhore.[3]

(iii) A letter was written in 1668 by Shivaji to the Subedar and Karkun of Poona wherein he was also addressed as Sardeshmukh.[4]

(iv) Aurangzeb himself conferred Sardeshmukhi of Nusratabad in 1658.[5]

(v) Letters are addressed to the Sardesai of (Dabhol) and Muzafarabad (Prabhavali), Turf Sangameshwar in 1659.[6]

(vi) There are two Adilshahi lett mentioning Sardesai's right in a place in the

1–6. P. S. S. Docs. 278–9, 397, 507, 735, 749, 781

third from Shivaji continuing the Adilshahi rights to one Nagoji Naik Sardesai, wherein the Sardeshmukhi dues are stated.[1]

(vii) An arbitration was held in 1636 at some place in the Mamla of Muzafarabad and Fort Khelna. Therein three Sardesais were present along with other officers.

(viii) From a letter of 1642, it appears that Sardeshmukhi had been prevalent in the Poona district for several generations. Exemption from the cess of Sardeshmukhi along with other cesses was given to the grantee in Jejuri.[2] There is a mention of another traditional grant of Sardeshmukhi in letters of 1696 and 1712 A. D. in the district of Supa.[3]

(ix) In the grants to the Gosavi of Margaon in the district of Poona exemption from several cesses then current in the Deccan and especially in that district, has been given. Among the cesses one for Sardeshmukhi was fully recognized in Maharashtra.[4]

(x) Another arbitration was held in 1652 at Khanapur in the Mamla of Walwa. Among the numerous officers one Sardesai was also present.[5]

(xi) We read of Sardesai's shares in the two documents of 1685, giving various cesses in that year.[6]

(xii) Shivaji himself conferred the Sardeshmukhi of Dabhol on Balaji Avaji.[7]

The Bijapur Sultan issued an order to the Deshmukh of Thana Mudhol in 1670. There was a Desai in Athni in 1658, Desai of Wai, Shirwal and of Karad in 1642, Kanhoji Jedhe Desai of Fort Rohida in 1638 and Kedarji Khopade Desai of Turf Bhor in 1648, and Desai of Kharepatan[8] in 1658.

Letters to the Desai of Pargana Kolhapur in 1660 and 1661 from Bijapur are available.[9] Desai Kanhoji Jedhe is called

1. Sh. Ch. S. II, pp. 390–98.
2–6. Sh. Ch. S. II, 170, 173, 380-1; III, 153, 162, 164, 219; IV, pp. 2–5.
7. Chitnis, 218 sec:
8. P. S. S. Docs. 762, 1832, 2455, 2459, 2478–88, 2539, 2567, 2723.
9. P. S. S. Docs. 545. 840. 2641. 2643. 2651. 2652. 2654–55. 2657. 2665, 2681.

Deshmukh of Rohida in a Sanad of 1660. It is, therefore, evident that the title Desai was also known as Deshmukh, and Sardesai was synonymous with Sardeshmukh even under the Adilshahi and Mogul regimes. These officials were not limited to Sawantwadi or even to the other parts of the Konkan, but were found in several parts of Maharashtra. Sardeshmukhs were common in the Konkan, the Mawals, Poona, Bankapur, Dharwar, etc., under the Bijapur government and even in the Mogul provinces. Desai officers functioned in such parts of the Karnatic as Terdal, Mudhol, Manglage, Athni, Torgal, Tawargiri, etc., Similarly, Deshmukhs flourished also in Khandesh and the Berars, but Sardeshmukhs were not so common.

37. Sardeshmukhi a cess – It should be borne in mind that Sardeshmukhi was not one-tenth part of the land-revenue, but it was only a cess like so many other cesses to be paid by the cultivator over and above the land revenue. In a grant by Shahji Raje dated 1625 the Sardeshmukhi cess (सरदेशमुखीपटी) is counted along with the cesses given to goldsmiths, payposhi, etc. There is an important grant of 1671 endorsed by the Sardeshmukh of Poona as representative of Shivaji himself wherein the contribution given to the Sardeshmukh is insignificant, being only $4\frac{3}{4}$ out of 532 Takas. Similarly, in the revenue account of village Khore in the district of Poona the Sardeshmukhi cess is mentioned as four out of 500 Takas.[1]

This nature of Sardeshmukhi is shown by several other grants. The Deshmukh's rights were many and quite different from those of Sardeshmukhs. The claim of $\frac{1}{10}$th part of the land-revenue as Sardeshmukhi must have been started, if at all, by Shivaji in the latter part of his regime. It can be definitely said that even in Shivaji's time and before him Sardeshmukhi was only a cess.

Now it should be noted in passing that Shivaji had demanded the Deshmukhi and not Sardeshmukhi of Junnar and Ahmednagar

1. Sh. Ch, S. VII, pp. 14, 90, 112.

from Prince Muradbux in 1649.[1] though he was familiar with Sardeshmukhi as he had himself made several Sardeshmukhi grants.[2]

Deshmukhs were well-known throughout Maharashtra and hence there was nothing novel in the request of Shivaji for being granted Deshmukhi of the two districts. There is no mention of Sardeshmukhi here. Moreover, it was a small cess, not worth having. Deshmukhi alone gave him substantial rights of collecting land-revenue.

38. Concluding remarks:— The study of numerous documents leads us to the following conclusions:—

(1) Shivaji was not the originator of the Sardeshmukhi tax which afterwards came to mean one-tenth of the land-revenue.

(2) Sardeshmukhi was only a small cess and it existed long before the days of Shivaji. In fact, it is traceable to the twelfth century A. D.

(3) It was not limited to the Konkan, but was found in the Karnatic and Maharashtra.

(4) The Bijapur rulers, Aurangzeb and Shivaji himself conferred or confirmed the Sardeshmukhi right during the forty years of 1640-80 A. D.

(5) All writers like Duff, Elphinstone, Ranade and a host of others who attribute the origin or the collection of Sardeshmukhi to Shiva, are incorrect.

Supplementary Sources

39. Cesses or Abwabs— In addition to the main sources of revenue there were many minor taxes levied from the people of villages and towns. There were known as *Swai Jama* or supplementary collections. We will call them cesses, though some of them are taxes, fees, fines and even loans. A few of these were surtaxes for imperial purposes, but many cases provided funds for local objects. It is difficult to distribute the

1. P. S. S, Doc. 575.
2. Sh. Ch. S. VII, 90, 112.

latter into urban and rural heads of income, because some of these were collected in both the areas, while regarding others we do not possess definite information. A rough classification is proposed in this section.

40. Imperial income consisted of surtaxes charged by the government as *Meeraspatti*, *Inampatti*, *Duhukpatti*, *Mahar Mahili*, *Hakpatti* on the incomes of the persons named in each case.[1] Dr. Sen has explained *Meeraspatti* as an additional tax levied once in three years on Meerasdars; *Inampatti* as an emergency tax on Inamdars; *Duhukpatti* as a special tax on Deshmukhs or Deshpandes; *Mahar Mahili* as a tax on holding Inams, and *Hakpatti* as one fourth of the fees levied every year. Besides these, the following cesses might have been collected for imperial use.

(i) *Humayun Patti* is explained by Dr. Sen as a tax levied for celebrating the royal birthday.[2]

(ii) *Marriage*[3] *cess* known as Lagnapati and Patpati (पाट पटी) in Marathi was much prevalent from ancient times. It was continued like many other cesses by Shivaji and his successors. It was levied even during the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb.

(iii) *A tax on documents*[4] (कबुलाती पटी) was collected probably for central purposes.

(iv) *Jangampatti*–A tax on the Shaiva Lingayats was levied by the Vijayanagar monarchs and might have been continued by the Maratha rulers. In the grants of 1646 and 1647 given by Shivaji himself this cess is mentioned.

(v) *Jang pati* (जंग पटी) by its meaning seems to be a war cess, but Mohimpatti or expedition cess is separately stated. Therefore this cess might have been collected for defensive wars.

(vi) *Mohim*[5] *patti* was levied to meet the expenses of special expeditions for defensive or offensive purposes.

1. Sh. Ch. S. III, 140, 146, 148, 151, 153, 164; Sen, Ad. S. M., p. 308.
2. „ „ „ „ 148.
3-4. „ „ „ II, 178, 304.
5. „ „ „ III, 146, 153, 164.

(vii) *Gad*[1] *patti* or a fort-cess used to be levied. Shiva imposed this tax on the villages in the district of Belgaum to build 360 forts there.

(viii) Nazar or succession duty was paid by Inamdars and government servants.

41. Town levies were probably the following. Shete Mahajan was an officer of Market towns as the Patil was in a village. He had his Watan or hereditary rights and perquisites. For instance, he had the right to take at stated periods fixed portions of each and every article sold in the market. Thus the government did not pay him much. The citizens paid for the maintenance of their leader, and he, in return, took every care to promote the interests of the town.[2] Shete, Mahajan, Sar Shete, Patansheti, Mutsadvani, etc. had also their shares [3] in some market-towns.

Octroi duty (Jakat) or toll was levied on the entry of goods in towns. Then cesses on the purchase and sale of certain goods (called थलमोड and भलभरीत) were included under the octroi duty. There were special octroi officers or Kamavisdars in this department.[4]

In some places there was a cess called *Khot Jakat* paid to the hereditary landlords called Khots.[5]

Mohtarfa was a tax on trades and occupations. Shopkeepers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, oilmen, potters, shoemakers, etc. had to pay it. A tax called *Mohtarfa Kul* (मोहतर्फा कुल) might have been levied on families like a poll-tax.[6]

Sales tax— A cess on the sale of oils, ghee, fodder, etc. was quite common. These taxes formed part of the old Hindu system as these are allowed by Manu, Kautilya and other law-givers.[7]

Police cess called Thanapatti or Kotwaleepatti, was collected

1. Shivaji, Part III, 178.
2. Sen, Ad. S. M., p. 334.
3. Sh. Ch. S., I, 66, 86, 106; II, 304, 343; III, 144, 146, 164; VI, 8.
4–6. Sh. Ch. S., II, pp. 181, 207 213, 220, 245, 250, 304, 316.
7. Ibid. III, pp. 148, 151, 153, 162, 166; Sen, Ad. S., M., p. 535.

to meet the expenses of Thana or police stations in villages and towns.[1]

Guest cess (मेजवानी) might havn been collected to meet the expenses of touring officers.[2]

Tutpatti[3] (तूट पटी) was a cess to cover some loss, as in measuring liquids and cloths, etc.

Bat-Chhapai[4] (बाट छपाई) was a fee on the annual examination of weights and measures. A somewhat similar cess called पटी पासोडी is often mentioned.

There was an allied fee called Tag or Tagadi on scales for weighing bulky articles.[5]

Stamping of cloths (Chhap) manufactured for sale was a rule. Sellers of unstamped cloths were fined. For examining the cloth and putting a stamp on it, a fee was charged by the government.

42. The rural cesses levied from time to time were so numerous and so varied that it is not possible to give a detailed account in this section. A cursory glance on the names and nature of the manifold levies will reveal an oppressive burden on the poor cultivator. From the time that he cut his crop to the time that he sold it, he was subject to so many exactions that he could hardly have any decent living for himself and his family. The one relieving feature was the customary nature of the cesses. Their number and the amount to be given in a particular locality were fixed by custom. Some of these were levied in kind, and a few in cash. The cultivators must have been living in extreme poverty and in constant awe of the myrmidons of government who like locusts were to devour his crop. Sometimes these rights were disputed.[6] Grievances of the people were removed by the decisions of the arbitration courts or by the orders of the king.

1. Sh. Ch. S., II, pp. 158, 213, 369; III, 153, 164, 166.
2-3. Ibid. III, pp. 144, 148, 151.
4-5. Sh. Ch. S., II, 304, III, 148, 151.
6. Sh. Ch. S., II, p. 207.

Perquisites and fees to officers— Various officers used to take some articles or money from the villagers and towns people. Some of these were :—

1. Subedar
2. Sardeshmukh or Sardesai
3. Deshmukh or Desai
4. Deshpande
5. Deshkulkarni
6. Sabnis
7. Phadnis
8. Saskhail
9. Sarnaik
10. Mahaldar
11. Kamavisdar [1]
12. Patil, Mukaddam or Chaudhari
13. Kulkarni or Karkun
14. Chaugule
15. Nadgauda
16. Potdar
17. Jyotishi or Joshi
18. Upadhyaya
19. Judge (Dharmadhikari, Ashta-adhikari)
20. Village as a whole (गांव गन्ना)

Some of these officers had their shares in the crops raised by the cultivators and they had their own Watans or lands given to them by the state. Besides these, all the non-agriculturists who in one way or another helped the agriculturists in their work or assisted the village community as a whole, were given shares from the produce, and some of these too had lands from the government. The non-agricultural workers were divided into two classes of twelve Balutas and twelve Alutas.

43. The Balutas played an important part in the economic and political life of the village. They were hereditary workers in several occupations. Both Hindus and Muslims were caste-ridden in this sphere. Irrespective of caste, creed or social position each Baluta had his own part to play in the daily life of the village. While every one of these artisans had a share of grains from every cultivator at the harvest time and some of them had lands given to them for their maintenance, they performed service or gave articles to the villagers and officers. Instead of levying taxes in money from the artisans and labourers, their labour or commodities made by

1. Sh. Ch. S. II, 219. 303, 317. 327, 339, 344; III, 146, 153, 213; VII,105.

them were demanded according to the dictates of the Hindu polity. The state is authorized to requisition the service of artisans, mechanics and labourers for one day in each month.

We can trace the existence of the twelve Balutas in the villages of Maharashtra from the 13th century onwards. Even now they exist in many parts of the Deccan. Their names vary in different places, and all the Twelve Balutas may not exist in each village, but the system of the Twelve Balutas still persists in some of the villages. In an arbitration document of 1675 relating to a village in the Mawals, their names are given, and some of these are described as Mirasi or hereditary. A Patalki Watan was granted by Shivaji to one Bakaji Pharzand in 1675. The Sanad of the Raja was brought before the Gots and Balutas for information. This was signed by headmen of several villages, and the witnesses consisted of the Balutas of the village proper.[1]

Grant Duff gives the names of the *Balutas* as carpenter, smith, cobbler, Mang, potter, barber, washerman, Gurav, Joshi, Bhat, Maulana. The *Alutas* were goldsmith, Jangam, tailor, weaver, Taral, gardener, oilman, Gosavi, Ramoshi, Tamboli, Gondhali (Musician), Gharshi (low caste singers).

Another list of *Balutas* has Patil, Kulkarni, Chaudhari, Potdar, Deshpande, Joshi, Gurav, barber, washerman, carpenter, potter, Mahar. The *Alutas* are said to be oilman, Tamboli, Sali, gardener, Jangam, Kalvant, Dabarya, Thakar, Gharshi, Taral, goldsmith, Chaugula.

The Patil was head of the village administration. He was the most important link between the government and the people. He allotted lands and helped in fixing the rents. He collected the revenue and managed to remit it to the Taluka treasury. He was to improve agriculture and promote the prosperity of the villagers. It was he who represented the governmental needs to the people and the grievances of the villagers to the government. He was to help all touring officers in the performance of their duties. He was to

1. Sh. Ch. S. II, 272, 274, 278; III, 274.

detect and prevent all thefts and crimes with the help of village watchmen. He also worked as head of the village Panchayat and represented his village in all political and judicial matters. Such an important functionary held hereditary watan lands and enjoyed rights and perquisites in the village. He was neither elected by the people nor appointed by the government. His was a hereditary office which could be sold and purchased in part or *in toto*. In case of partial sale of the Inam and its rights, there could be more than one Patil – all together enjoying the fixed or customary rights and privileges. In some cases[1] Police Patils were different from Civil Patils.

The village accountant was known as Kulkarni, Gaon – Kulkarni, or Lekhak. He performed all the writing work of the village administration, kept the records and prepared the village returns. He helped the villagers by keeping their accounts with the creditors. Along with the Headman, he used to stand surety for regular payment of all dues from the villagers and for their good conduct and loyalty. His rights and perquisites, though less than those of the Patil, were quite numerous.[2]

A Chaugula assisted the village officers in the village administration and had Watan lands and perquisites given to him.

The Potdar was the goldsmith or sonar to test the genuineness of the coins and to see whether they had the prescribed weight and proportion of the metal. Sometimes one Potdar used to do this work for more than one village. He used to get remuneration from the village and even from the government for testing the money received in revenue.

A Mahar belonged to the untouchable caste and lived quite outside the boundaries of the village, because he used to impale dead animals and preserve their hides. Yet he served as one of the Twelve Balutas, worked as a peon of the officers and as a watchman of the village. He used to carry money and government reports to the higher officials. In return he enjoyed certain customary

1-2. Sen, Ad. S. M. Pp. 215-224, 227.

rights and perquisites, and got share of grain at the harvest time. He too had his Watani lands. In some parts the work of the village watchman was done by Ramoshis. They used to be on patrol duty at night, and helped the Patil in the arrest of criminals.

44. Every big village had its own astrologer (*Joshi*) who made horoscopes, fixed the dates of marriages and pointed out good or bad omens. There was a Brahman or *Upadhaya* to perform religious ceremonies. Similarly, there was a *Kazi* or *Dharmadhikari* to decide law cases.

The remaining officials were local and central agents with rights of perquisites and levies fixed by custom or the government. The grantees of this category differed from village to village and time to time on account of local tradition, the economic importance of villages and the necessities of the government. Besides the shares paid to the government officers and public servants included among the Balutas and Alutas, there were other levies paid by the villagers.

Village Levies— Shingoti[1] cess on breeding of animals like cows, oxen, buffaloes, goats, horses, etc. was levied in the Deccan. This cess had its counterpart in the north where it was known as Gaushumari and Ashva Jakati. The latter was on the sale of horses.

Unth Patti[2] or cess on camels, and *Gajpatti* a tax on elephants are self-evident.

Then one *Sail Bail*[3] (सैल बैल) or cess on transport cattle, is separately mentioned in several grants.

A tax on trees was called *Sardarakati*[4] or *Jhad-Jhadora* in the Deccan. It cannot be definitely said whether it was levied on fruit trees only or even on other trees used as timber and fuel.

Grazing fee (Van charai) for grazing cattle on government

1. Sh. Ch. S. II, pp. 316, 383, 386.
2. Sh. Ch. S. III, p. 162.
3. ,, ,, ,, II, ,, 170; III, 162.
4. ,, ,, ,, III, ,, 175, 316.

lands was quite common. Allied to it was a fee (*Ghaskatai* for cutting grass on state lands.

Forest dues— Some fees must have been levied on taking away fuel, timber, bamboos, herbs, fruits, myrobalans, leaves, plants, etc. from the forest.

Balbati [1] exacted at the harvesting time, is frequently mentioned.

Farmayasi [2] was a common cess. It consisted of presents of fruits, vegetables, etc. to officers. *Tashrufati* was another form of this cess.

Tejipatti [3] might have been a cess imposed on landlords for their extra profits due to a special rise in prices. One Moreshwar Gosawi is given exemption from this new cess along with an exemption from all cesses old and new.

Payposhi was the contribution of the shoemakers to the Patil for plying their trade. It is so often mentioned that references will be useless.

Kharchpatti [4] was a cess to meet the expenses of the village. Similarly, a contribution had to be made to the standing funds of of the Gava Gana (गाव गन्ना) which was spent for common purposes of having a temple, a Serai, a well, a cow-house, etc.

Miscellaneous cesses [5] were collected under the following names: house tax, watchman tax, market cess, beggars cess, goldsmith cess, tobacco duty and forced labour. *Water cess* was an extra tax on lands watered by wells. *Karaj patti* were loans forcibly taken from the people in case of emergency.

Certain cesses have been left out from the preceding categories, because their significance is not clear. Marathi dictionaries and

1. Sh. Ch, S. III, pp. 144, 162.
2-3. Sh. Ch. S. II, p. 213; III, 146, 146.
4. Sh, Ch, S. III, pp. 139. 146, 148. 151.
5. Sh. Ch. S. II, p. 368; III, pp. 101, 120, 141, 153: VII. pp. 14. 89. 106, 112. Their names in Marathi are respectively:— घर शुमारी or घरपटी, पाडे वारी, बाजार पटी, दरवेश पटी or फकरूना, सराफ पटी, वेठ बेगारी.

Revenue Manuals throw no light on these words. Some of these are:— Thun Masul,[1] Alheran, Kathvala, Bambar Bhet, Banpatti, Sundar Thakur and Ban Takal

45. Concluding remarks-We must not be oblivious to three important aspects of the imposition of these Abwabs. Though the list seems to be formidable, many of these are being levied now in towns and villages in India, and were levied even in the urban and rural areas of Europe in those days. Secondly, instead of the money economy there was the barter system wherein exchange of services and articles was the common feature. The needs of cultivators were satisfied by the services of the Mahar, Mang, barber, washerman, Joshi, Gurav, ect. on the one hand, and by the articles made by the shoemaker, carpenter, potter, oilman, ect. on the other. Consequently, these were paid a share of the crop by every cultivator. The third feature deserving special notice is the socialistic organization of the society coupled with the principle of self-sufficiency. Every village was guided by the socialistic spirit to maintain its autonomy and self-sufficiency. All members of the village community from the lowest like Mahars and Mangs to the highest like Brahman, Joshi, and Upadhaya or the village officers, or the agents of imperial and local governments, pooled their resources and services for the common cause, and therefore each had his fixed share in the produce. In years of scarcity each would get less, while in years of prosperity each would share more of the produce of the land. Thus all were ensured maintenance, and there could not exist an unemployed or a starving group of persons. Every one living in a village with his hereditary occupation had a place in the rural economy to do some useful work; in return, he was served or paid in kind by others. Thus the people lived in peace and contentment irrespective of turmoils, wars, revolutions in the capital of the kingdom.

1. Sh. Ch. S, II, p. 302; III, p. 151. Their names in Marathi are respectively- तुणमसूल, अलहेराण, काथवल, बंबर भेट, बाणपटी, सुंदर ठाकूर, बाण टाकल.

CHAPTER VIII

The Monetary Policy

1. The Laissez-Faire policy The Maratha Swaraj has already been shown to be composed of territories wrested from the Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda kingdoms, and from the Mogul and Vijayanagar Empires. Consequently, the monies of all these states remained current in the newly born state. We must expect a large variety of coins passing among the people and kept in the central as well as provincial treasuries of this kingdom. Shivaji was struggling to enlarge his dominion from the beginning of his career. On account of continuous wars with Bijapur and later on with the Mogul Empire, he was not sure of retaining the portions wrested from them. He had to cede a large part of his dominion after his treaty with Jaisingh in 1665. After four years only, he began to reconquer the lost forts and the territory protected by them. Therefore he could not evolve any monetary policy except that of giving full freedom to his subjects to accept whatever coins they preferred. He did not force any one coin on them. The Laissez-Faire policy gave the people the greatest satisfaction.

2. Shivaji mints money— From H. Oxinden's letter it appears that Shivaji had no state-mint for coining money up to his coronation. His words are : 'After his coronation he intends to set up a mint, and proposes himself great advantages thereby, so that Naroji Pandit declares that he will never agree to allow the Bombay money to go current in his dominions."[1] It is said by Khafi Khan that Shivaji began to strike copper coins and Hons in the fort of Rajgarh from 1664. The Marathi chronicles confirm this statement. These were probably not in his own name, but some current coins were minted for using copper and gold, and for making profit thereby. The state-mint might have been established after June 1674 for coining pagodas and pice in his own name. He

1. Shivaji, Part III, 22.

must have been striking before his coronation pagodas, laries and pice in the old form in which they were current in the country. This is confirmed by the 19th article of the Anglo-Maratha treaty itself wherein the English promise that "all sorts of coins made in Sevagee's Dominions shall pass freely on the Island of Bombay." [1]

It was the practice of those days to give license to goldsmiths to coin money of proper weight and purity. In the Deccan states such licenses were granted by the government which used to charge royalty from the goldsmiths, and to have superintendents to examine the coins and punish the license-holders in case of default. Shivaji too must have followed this practice as the pice minted during his regime have different and defective spellings of the word "Shiva Chhatrapati."

3. Variety of Coins:—The cash in the government treasuries consisted of Hons or pagodas of various mints and issued by numerous kings. Their names are given below to show the variety of pagodas which were current in the days of Shivaji.

The Chitragupta Chronicle gives a supplementary list of fanams issued from fourteen mints: Sabhasad names twelve varieties in which three new names of mints occur. Thus in all there were 21 kinds of pagodas and 17 of fanams in the treasuries of the Raja. The seven kinds of pagodas mentioned in these volumes are great Hons, small Hons, Ashmolah, Padshahi, Sungare, Tipke and Wingurla ones. Five of these are not included in the list of Marathi chronicles. The silver coins consisted of rupees, Mahmudies, Ashrafis, Laris, and Rials.

The prices of all these coins for the fifty years' period from 1630 to 1680 are not available in a reliable manner. However, various travellers and authors have given their prices, and stray references are found in the preceding pages. It is evidently impossible to give an exact estimate of the value of the treasures left in cash and kind by Shivaji. A rough estimate will be attempted below.

1. Shivaji, Part III, 43.

4. Names of Hons:—The amounts of the various kinds of pagodas left in Shivaji's treasury according to the two chronicles were:

(In thousands)

1.	Gambars	100	2.	Putlis	100
3.	Shivarai[1] Hon	400	4.	Sangari Hon	1275
5.	Devarai Hon[2]	3005	6.	Gadmal Hon	500
7.	Kaveripak Hon	1500	8.	Pak (V) Naiki Hon	100
9.	Guti Hon	100	10.	Mohars	200
11.	Satlami Hon[3]	100	12.	Padshahi Hon	1365
13.	Achyutrai Hon	264	14.	Ramchandrarai Hon	100
15.	Dharwari Hon	200	16.	Shailyguti Hon	200
17.	Adavani (Adoni) Hon	300	18.	Ibrahami Hon	100
19.	Tadpatri Hon	140	20.	Ellori Hon	50
21.	Nishani Hon of Hukeri	50	22.	Fullam of different kinds	10,34

5. Prices of Hons:—The Shivarai, Devarai, Achyutrai, Ramchandrarai Hons were named after the Vijayanagar kings who issued them. These pagodas had the figure of Vishnu either with or without his two consorts on the obverse, while their reverse was either plain or granulated. Even the Golconda and Madras pagodas were struck after the Vijayanagar type. The former had the name of a Vijayanagar sovereign in Devanagari characters on the reverse, while the other bore on the obverse the figure of Vishnu and his two wives with rays emanating from his person. Its reverse was granulated.[4]

The Madras Hon was called the New Pagoda, while the Masulipatam Hon was known as the Old Pagoda. In 1656 one

1. In Sabhasad the sum is 300,450.
2. This figure is from Sabhasad. Chitragupta is evidently wrong. Other figures are almost the same in both the chronicles.
3. Satrami is another reading on p. 86 of Sh. Chh.
4. Vestiges of O. M., I, p. 195; II, p. 312 n.

Old Pagoda was equal to 1.39, but in 1661 it rose to 1.425 New Pagoda.[1]

(2) Kaveri-pak, Adoni, Guti, Shailyguti, Hukeri, Ellori; Dharwari, Gadmal, Tadpatri Hons seem to be after the names of the mint-towns at which these were struck.

(3) Padshahi and Ibrahimi were the Bijapur Hons.

(4) Gambar— Dr. Sen takes it to be Gabbar which was worth Rs. 3-12 as·6 p. at Bombay in 1763. (Ad. S. M., p. 123).

(5) Puthi was a small gold coin used as an ornament and was equal to Rs. 4 in value. In other words, its price was nearly equal to a Hon.

(6) Mohar was the well-known Mogul coin weighing 170 grains and containing 168 grains of gold. The rupee was 179 grains and had 175.5 grains of silver. Hence Rs. 15'4 were equal to a Mohar at the ratio of the values of silver and gold as 16:1. The Mohar was popularly known as the gold rupee. There were half and quarter Mohars of gold too in circulation. Each Mohar was actually equal to 14½ rupees = 21 livres or 4 hons, a livre being equal to 1s. 6d.

(7) *Shivarai Hons*-The treasury of Shivaji had Shivarai hons to the number of 4 lakhs only; but these were probably Vijayanagar pagodas and not those struck by Shiva Chhatrapati. As he was often called Shivarai after his coronation, it is probable that pagodas might have been struck by him after his name with the figure of God Shiva on them. There is one specimen of a gold Hon in the B. I. S. Mandal of Poona with the figures of Shiva and Bhawani seated side by side on the obverse, while on the face the words (शिवराज छत्रपति) are inscribed. The letter 'श्र' is missing due to incorrect spelling and the bad instruments. The inscription reveals the ignorance of goldsmiths and the freedom given to them for coining money without any interference from the state. The inscription on the copper coins was not uniform. Incorrect spellings

1. Vestiges of O. M., I, pp. 194-5. The new pagodas were made by the English and Dutch and were valued at 3½ rupees, while the old pagodas were worth 4½ rupees. Tavernier, II, pp. 70-71.

were rather the rule. Eight different forms of Shivaji's name were pointed out by Mr. Abbot who is said to have collected 25,000 paisas of Shivaji.[1]

(8) *Sungare, Tipkee, Ashmolah, Vingurla Hons*—The loss suffered by the English at Hubli in 1673 was estimated in Sungare pagodas. We learn from Dr. Fryer that a *Sungare* pagoda was equal to Rs. 4 or 9 s., an Asmolah pagoda was one per cent less than the *Sungare*. The Rajapore loss was to be made up by Shivaji in Ashmolah pagodas, but another letter has Padshahi pagodas. The *Tipkee* pagodas were found in the English factory at Hubli. It appears that up to 1665 pagodas were struck at Vingurla and called after this famous port. 5,000 Vingurla pagodas were despatched to Surat by the Dutch. We also read of pagodas at 4 guilders and 5 guilders in 1664 and 1669. The exchange of a Dutch florin is stated to be about 1 £. equal to 11¾ florins.

(9) *Padshahi Hon*—In 1663 at Surat the exchange was 100 pagodas equal to Rs. 360. The Padshahi or Bijapuri pagodas were current at Rajapur. We read of Padshahi and Kaveripak Hons being paid in salary to officers by Shivaji. This pagoda was equivalent to 8s. 1d. in English money. In a letter[4] of Jaysingh (1665 A. D.) a Hon is valued at Rs. 5, and Da Guarda too gives the same price. In the south the pagodas had fanams and cash as coins of smaller denomination. Prices of articles are given in these as can be seen on p. 235 of Part III.

The European merchants were dealing in pagodas and rupees. The English price of a pagoda is confirmed by the records. It should be marked that a pound sterling was then equal to 9 rupees at the rate of 2s. 3d. per rupee and that a Hon varied from Rs.3.6 to 5, or from 8s. to 11s. 3d. We may therefore take *2* Hons to be roughly equal to 1 £. or Rs. 9. Up to 1675 A. D. the exchange

1. Sen, Ad. S. M., pp. 107-111, 123-126.

2-3. Shivaji, Part II, 151, 202, 406, 412, 451, 454, 498, 515, 574; 576; III, 117.

4. P. S. S., I, p. 290.

rate was 8s. 8d. per pagoda and 2s. 6d. per rupee at Madras, but in that year it was changed to 9s. 8d. and 2s. 3d. respectively.

(10) *German Ducats* averaged about 4s. 9d. Shivaji was paid 1,000-2,000 ducats daily by the king and was offered a present of 1,000 by the Dutch at Golconda.[1]

6. Now we will turn to the silver coins-Abasis, Laris and Rials were the foreign coins current in the country, while Ashrafis, rupees and Mahmudis may be said to be the indigenous coins.

(1) **Abasis** were Persian coins named after Shah Abbas who ruled Persia from 1588 to 1629 A. D. They were current at Calicut, each being equal to 16d. according to Fryer,[2] and 18d. according to Thevenot. One Persian Toman = Rs. 29½ or 50 Abasis = 100 Mahmudis = 200 Shahis.[3]

(2) **Lari**— The word Kabri in the Sabhasad chronicle is a misreading of Lari which was a Persian coin current in the port towns of Western India. It appears that the Bijapur rulers and Shivaji used to strike these silver coins. The Basra Lari was known after the famous port town Basra of Persia. We read of Hurmuzi, Basri, Shirni, Bhivindi, Murbad Korkada Laris in Marathi letters.[4]

Shivaji might have struck Laris at Chaul and Dabhol which were brought under him about the year 1660. The soldiers at Rajgad were given their salaries in Laris in 1665. Similarly, customs were paid at Dabhol, etc. in Laris.[5] A Lari was worth about 6d.

(3) **Rials-Royals** (Ryalls or Reals) were silver coins imported from Spain, and were worth about Rs. 2 each. According to

1. Eng. Rec. II, pp. 349-350.
2. East India, Vol. I, p. 143.
3. Tavernier, Travels, I, p. 20.
4. P. S. S. III, 2503, 2563, 2574, 2583, 2610, 2611, Sh. Ch. S. III, 141, 142, 158.
5. Raj. VIII, pp. 7, 21. One wonders that a deep scholar like C. V. Vaidya should have identified Hon. and Lari, "the name being derived from Lat (Konkan Gujarat)." Vaidya's Shivaji, p. 320. Vestiges of O. M., I, 194.

Tavernier 100 Mexican and Spanish Reals were equal to 208-215 Rs., while a German or Dutch Rix Dollar = Rs. 2.16 = 4s. 8d. = 30 sols.[1] One pagoda, being equal to 2 Rix dollars in Oct. 1674, was worth Rs. 4.32 (Shivaji, III, p. 35).

(4) **An Ashrafi** was an Indian word to signify a Portuguese Xerafeen or Xerafin equal to 300 reis. It is said to be equal to 1s. 6d. by Yule.[2]

Even in 1677 the rents and customs of Bombay were farmed out in Xerafins[3]. So the Bombay rupee and pagoda were not much current there.

(5) **Rupees** were mostly current in the north, but began to circulate in the Deccan with the extension of the Mogul sovereignty in these parts. Each rupee was equal to 40 dams and there were half and quarter rupees of silver.[4] The value of the rupee was 2s. 3d. to 2½ s. Rupees used to be sent for the expense of the army by Shivaji.

At Surat 1 rupee was equal to 49 paisas, but it varied from 46 to 50 paisas. The Agra and Delhi a rupee was equal to 55-56 paisas and 40 Dams. There were coins of 1 paisa, ½ paisa, 2 paisas Then I paisa was = 35-40 almonds or 50-55 cowries at Agra, but more shells near the sea.

(6) **A Mahmudi** was equal to 20 paisas or from 8d. to 1 s.

Token Coins- In the Deccan token coins were different. The Rajvavyaharkosha has given the denominations of the coins under the Hons. One pagoda = 2 Partaps = 4 Dharans = 8 Chavals = 16 Duvals or Dubals = 32 Bels = 64 Vises.

7. The copper coins[5] were Takas, Rukas, Trirukas, Shivarais and Shashganis. 1 Hon = 10 and sometimes = 11-12 Takas. 48 Rukas were equal to 1 Taka. There is an occasional mention of

1. Tavernier, Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 21; Shivaji, Part II, p, 24.
2. Vestiges of O. M., Vol. I, p. 79.
3. Tavernier, Travels. Vol. II p, 100.
4. Sen, F. B., p. 79.
5. P, S. S. Docs, 1746, 2726, 2727; Sh. Ch. S. II, 353-Dubal of metal.

Triruka equal to 3 Rukas. Shivarai and Sheshgani were copper coins equal to 6 Rukas. A Ruka [1] was equivalent to 1½ pies and a Taka was worth six annas.

The pagoda was 8 5/8 parts gold out of 10 parts. Its weight was 53 1/3 grs. and the ratio between gold and silver was 16 to 1.

In 1628 Jan. the price of a Hon is said to be nine Khurda Takas, while in a letter of 1621, a Hon is taken to be equivalent to 8 Laris. In 1658 Nov. it went up to 12½ Takas or Rs. 3 12 as. Then in 1670 and 1671 the Hon came down to 10 Takas.[2]

Phalam was another name for फणं or fanam. It comes under the silver coins in the Rājvavyahārkosha, though originally it was a gold coin. It came to be minted of silver and base gold in the 17th century. Its value varied from place to place.

According to Fryer, the Madras pagoda was worth 8 s., the Fanam, 3d. and Cash ½d. in 1673. It follows that 32 F. were equivalent to a pagoda, and six Cash to one Fanam. But the nominal exchange was 36 Fanams to a pagoda. The Cash referred to by Dr. Fryer was only an imaginary coin of accounts, the actual Cash was different.

In 1678, 74 to 78 Cash were equal to a fanam. There were sometimes double Cash 43, or single Cash 86 to a Fanam. 80 cash generally went to a fanam. It was merely a coin of account, while a 4 Cash-piece was the smallest coin struck.

The number of fanams to a pagoda varied at different places at the same time. For instance, one pagoda was equal to 12 fanams at Golconda, 18 at Porto Novo, 24 at Pulicat and 36 at Madras. We also read of pagodas and jetts.[3] Captain Thomas Bowrey [4] who visited the Eastern Coast of India several times between 1669 and 1688, gives the prices of a pagoda from 6 to 12 s. in various places.

1. P. S. S. Docs. 2417, 2534, 2535, 2586, 2722; Raj. VIII, p. 23.
2. Sh. Ch. S. VII, pp. 9, 15, 74, 82, 89.
3. Shivaji, Part I, 116. Vestiges of O. M., I, 192-5, 504, 505.
4. Bowrey, The Countries Round the Bay of Benga

The names of the Fanams of different types are mentioned in the Marathi chronicles. Some of these are similar in the Sabhasad and the Chitragupta chronicles; others are different. Some coins are named after the kings and others after the mint towns. Ramarai, Hanamantrai, Katerai or Vyankatrai and Muhammad Shahi belong to the former group, while Trivaluri, Vellori, Devanhalli, Chandavari, etc. fall in the second category. The total number of the fourteen kinds of Fanams named in the Chitragupta chronicle is about 25 lakhs, while Sabhasad gives the value as 3 lakh Hons. In some mints both pagodas and fanams must have been coined, while others must have minted only one kind of coin. The text is defective and therefore exact names can not be decisively given. Trivaluri pagodas were the current coin of the Karnatic up to 1736 at least.[1] There were pagodas of Vellore and Tanjore mints too. Other types can not be traced.

8. The Bombay Mint—Englishmen used to make a large profit by coining money at Bombay and using it in the Maratha territory. They hoped that the copper pice and budgrooks would be demanded in larger quantities by the support of the Maratha government. In their treaty with Shivaji they desired to insert a stipulation that the coins struck at Bombay should be made current by law throughout the Maratha kingdom, but the Raja deemed the article to be unnecessary, because he did not wish to force his subjects to accept those coins whereby they would be losers. His reply was very significant. He pointed out that in case the English coins were as fine and weighty as the Mogul's money, they would go current in his country. He gave them the assurance of not prohibiting their currency. The Englishmen acknowledged that Shivaji was true to his word and that the Bombay pice was quite popular, but tin budgroooks were not accepted by the people. The latter were old Goa coins struck at different times of copper, lead, tin, etc. The English at Bombay coined budgrooks of tin and desired to make much profit thereby. In 1671 sixteen budgrooks went to one pice. We have seen that the pice coined by Shivaji and the English were current in

1. Vestiges of O. M., II, p. 310.

Maharashtra. The Bombay pice was so popular [1] in the Maratha and Portuguese territories that the English proposed to use 1,500 chests of copper in minting pice in 1675.

9. The Hoarded Treasures of Shivaji—The Sabhasad and Chitragupta Chronicles and the Tarikh-i-Shivaji have presented detailed information on the wealth left by Shivaji at his death. The list is indicative of the distant expeditions which brought a vast treasure in cash and kind through plunder, chauth, tribute and gifts. Pagodas numbered about ten millions; gold and silver in bullion weighed 250 maunds and 1,000 maunds respectively; jewels, ornaments and costly clothing were valued at more than three crores of Hons, while the total value of the arms, weapons and stores of numerous articles is estimated at two crores of Hons.

The aggregate number of all the pagodas, Mohars, Putlies, Gambars and Fanams by being converted into Hons was more than a crore. There were nine crore rupees and five crore Hons worth of other goods. This seems to be a poor collection after a regime of 30 years' pillage and conquest. As Shivaji followed the system of paying salaries in cash to all the employees and as he had to maintain very large armies, the treasury probably showed poor balances.[2]

The treasures amassed by Shah Jahan [3] at Agra and removed by Aurangzeb to Delhi, comprised 43 lakh gold Mohars and 2.6 crore rupees.

At the capture of Golconda by Aurangzeb, its treasury [4] had only 68 lakh Hons, two crore rupees and 115 crore dams left in it.

The wealth of Shivaji compares favourably with the fabulous wealth amassed by Akbar the Great. At his death the Mogul Emperor is said to have left 10 maunds of uncoined gold; 70 maunds of silver, 60 maunds of copper, one crore of tankas, and Ilahis worth 11 crores of rupees.[5] According to Smith, Akbar left forty million pounds sterling in coined money.

1. Shivaji, Part III, p. 49.
2. Ed. Scott Waring, History of the Marathas, pp. 215-16; Modern Rev. 1909. 3. Shivaji, Part II, 87.
4. Qutabshahi of Golcondah by V. C. Bendre, p. 170. 40 dams=1 Re.
5. History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India by John Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 281-282.

CHAPTER IX

The Judicial System

1. The traditional Hindu system conferred a great deal of judicial autonomy upon the people. All civil and even ordinary criminal cases were decided by peoples' courts. Law-givers like Manu, Narada, Brihaspati, Yajnavalkya and Sukra have given us glimpses of the universal practice of trial by peers. According to Sukra, cultivators, artisans, artists, usurers, corporations, dancers, ascetics and thieves should decide their disputes according to the usage of their profession. The reason advanced for this practice is that it is impossible to detect them through the help of others, so they are to be found out with the assistance of persons born of them. Similarly, the foresters, merchants and soldiers were to be tried by men of their own occupation. Further, in every village cases were to be tried by the neighbours. The families (Kulas), corporations (Srenis) and communities (Ganas) were to try cases excepting robbery and theft. Appeals from the Kula lay with the Sreni and from this to the Gana.

King's Court—According to Sukra, the judicial officers were to try cases not decided by the Ganas. The highest court of appeal was the King's Council consisting of the king, three to seven Brahmans well-versed in law and Veda, and of judicious merchants who were made assessors. The king presided, the councillors served as investigators, while the chief justice acted as the speaker. In another place Sukra says that the imperial court should consist of the king, the chief justice, the Amatya, a Brahman and the chie priest. It was a law that the king should never singly try cases, nor were suits to be heard in secret. The king who did not perform his judicial duties well, was threatened with the dire punishment of being thrown into the darkest hell.

It is evident that cheap, prompt, and impartial justice was available to the people in the villages and towns of their residence. In a few important cases they had to go out. Even the king was

not allowed to try cases alone, but only in company with the law-lords and assessors. The fundamental rule was not to try cases in secret but in public, and then too with the help of experts in law and the neighbours of the parties in a suit.

2. **Changes during the Muslim period**—During centuries of Muslim rule in southern India the vitality of the Panchayat system was not adversely affected. The rulers recognized the decisions of the Panchayats, superimposed certain courts or invested officers with judicial powers in criminal cases. The suits between Muslims and Hindus, and between Muslims were heard by the Kazi, an expert in Muslim law. Besides local Kazis, there were Kazis at the provincial capitals and the imperial metropolis. In the Mogul Empire the Kotwals, the Governors and the Emperors took over more and more judicial powers with the strengthening of the Muslim rule, so that the people were deprived of their powers and they suffered from denial of justice during the long rule of Aurangzeb.

Prof. A. S. Altekar, after a thorough study of the village communities, has arrived at the conclusion [1] that in the north these communities lost their vitality by the introduction of the Zamindari system there. The landlords became the most influential members of the Panchayats, and thereby the headmen were deprived of their powers and position. Then the Panchayats too lost much of their power, because their decrees could not be enforced by the state. Further, certain social changes were introduced among the Hindus by the dominance of Muslims in northern India. But in the Deccan these changes could not be affected. Thus during the long Muslim rule village communities continued to exist and perform judicial and political functions in southern India.

However, these grew weaker and weaker under the Muslim dominance, so that some functions were performed by the headmen of villages. They had, however, to consult the elders on important matters. The Panchayats enjoyed judicial autonomy and as such these continued to exist in villages after the fall of the Maratha Empire.

1. Village Communities in Western India, p. 123.

3. The Panchayats—That the peoples' courts in those days were known as Panchayats, is confirmed by a document [1] of 1622. These were of different types. The most popular one was the Got Council consisting of the Patil, Kulkarni, the castemen, or relatives and kindreds of the disputants. Other Panchayats could be composed of the Mokadam and Twelve Balutas of the village to which the disputants belonged, or of the Makadams and Mukhtsars of the neighbouring villages. The Panchayat also consisted of the Patil, the accountant, the Twelve Balutas, and landlords of the village. In towns Shete, Mahajan, merchants and Balutas took part in the Panchayat. Thus the number of its members was not fixed. The disputants had the option to choose any form of the village Panchayat. Shivaji [2] himself offered such an option to the parties in 1668 for the decision of a suit.

An arbitration held in 1669 at Tandli deserves a special notice. Therein Mokadams, the Twelve Balutas, all elders (Bap-bhaus) and hereditary peasants were present. One man was aged 115 years, several were septuagenarians, while there were also present young men only 20 years old. It must have been a wonderful sight to have a venerable old man of 115 years walking into the Council Hall and sitting for hours there. The young and the old, the rich and the poor took part in the Panchayats on a basis of equality, and thus enjoyed the threefold blessings, of equality, fraternity and liberty.

Men of various castes, religions, occupations were not represented on it by election. The Panchayat was not dominated by men of any one community, religion, caste, occupation or interest. In this sense it was a democratic institution enjoying the confidence of the villagers and the towns-people. Still it was open to the parties to demand the transference of their cases to some other village or town Panchayat, or to a higher authority.

(a) There was a quarrel regarding the Joshiship of Kasba Shirwal. Both the parties agreed to have an arbitration in the city

1. Sh. Ch. S. II, p. 133.
2. B. I. S. M. Sammelan Report, III, p. 39.

of Ahmednagar. The Shetes, Mahajans, etc. of that city formed a court and gave their decision. Then the victory document was issued by the authorities and the Joshi-ship was given over to the winning party in 1577 A. D.

(b) In an arbitration [1] of 1613 A. D. the neighbours of town Shirwal, and the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes of Poona, Wai, Saswad and Gunjan Maval were called as witnesses. The Deshak Council then gave its judgment.

(c) In 1638 a case regarding division of property was decided by a Panchayat in which Dadaji Kond Dev, Subedar of Kondana, was present along with the Deshmukh, Desh Kulkarni and Gots. This decision [2] was reversed by another Panchayat in 1657 wherein Shivaji Raje himself, his ministers and officers, Deshmukhs, Desh Kulkarnis, Gots and others were present. Thus important cases were decided by councils attended by many high dignatories of the state along with the representatives of the villages concerned. It was quite natural for the people to repose complete confidence in the impartiality of such councils. The Hindu maxim that 'the panchas are representatives of God' is similar to the Latin saying 'the voice of the people is the voice of God.'

(d) Another famous decision was given by a Got Council in which Kond Dev was himself present. This Council is said to have based its judgment on the authority of the Mitakshara.[3]

(e) On an appeal being made, Shivaji referred the case to a Panchayat consisting of the Deshmukh, Deshpande, Hawaldar, Gots, etc.[4]

(f) The sale of Kulkarni and Jyotishi rights of one village was affected in 1670. The deed was endorsed by a Patil, Mokadam, all the family elders (बाप-माऊ) , the Balutas and hereditary cultivators. Their names and seals are put on the document.[5]

1. Sh. Ch. S. I, p. 5; P. S. S. Doc. 64.
2. P. S. S. Docs. 432, 722.
3. Sanads and Letters by Wad and Parasnis, p. 217. There were other cases of Got Councils in which Kond Dev was present. Docs. 436, 456, 457.
4. P. S. S. Doc. 754 of 1658.
5. Bavada Daftar, Vol. I, pp. 11-16.

The words (Bap-bhau) 'fathers and brothers' show that the elderly relatives of both the parties were also invited to take part in hearing the case. In ancient times there was the Kula or Family Council, but the Panchayat of the Maratha times included the family elders, village officers, artisans and hereditary cultivators.[1]

4. **The Deshak Sabha** was generally composed of Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Patils, Balutas of the villages, and Shete-Mahajans of the towns included in the Pargana. From a document[2] of 1652 it appears that the Deshaks included Desais, Sardesai, Desh Kulkarni, Naiks Pataks, etc. of a particular territory. Another document[3] of 1682 shows that the Deshakas and Gots formed a Panchayat presided over by the officer of the town called Rajmudra, because he was to put his seal on the victory certificate after the decision. Officers of the Pargana like Hawaldar, Thanedar, Sarnaubat, Karkun, Sabnis, Chitnis, Karkhanis, Sargrohs, Naikwadis, etc. used to be members of this council. Its membership was not fixed, and it is not certain whether attendance in it was compulsory or not, yet this court had original and appellate jurisdiction. A case relating to several villages was decided by it. If a party was dissatisfied with the decision of the Gots, it could request the re-hearing of the case by the Deshak Sabha. Even disputes regarding the rights of Jyotishi, Dharmadhikari, etc. were decided by a Deshak[4] Council.

5. **The Brahman Sabha** was composed of one or more Brahmans who were well-known as distinguished scholars of high character. These were reputed to be fearless, impartial, God-fearing and incorruptible men. Such people were known as Dharmadhikaris. Karad, Wai, Kolhapur, Nasik, Mahuli, Paithan, etc. were reputed to be the places of the residence of such Brahmans. Some times scholars from Benares were invited for deciding complicated cases. One of these councils was called by Shivaji to decide his Kshatriya origin and the right to have coronation with

1. See P. S. S. Docs. 64, 100, 125, 149, 151, 191.
2. Sh. Ch. S, III, pp. 218-20. 3. Raj, XV, p. 38.
4. Sh. Ch. S. II, docs. 340-341 of 1600 and 1636.

Vedic ceremonies. Gagabhat and other learned Brahmans constituted the council which recognized his Kshatriya descent. [1]

Another large council was summoned to give decision about the Shenwi people of the Konkan.[2]

The quarrels among Brahmans about property could be settled by the Brahman Sabha. One case was decided at Wai [3] in 1664.

6. The Raj Sabha is separately mentioned. It was probably constituted by the king, his councillors, some important officers of the kingdom, and persons of the place in which the dispute had arisen. The case of Kharade brothers *v.* Kalbhar brothers about the Patilship of village Pali was heard by the council consisting of Shivaji, the Peshwa, the Chief Judge, the Panditrao, the Mujumdar, the Commander-in Chief, other important officers, Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Patils, officers and Gots of the village Pali. The document is very important as it relates the procedure adopted in hearing and deciding suits. It was found that the case could not be decided on the available evidence. Therefore the complainant had to undergo an ordeal. Therein he failed and hence he lost his case.[4]

Another case of Shivaji *v.* Netaji regarding the Patilship of village Talbid deserves notice. It was decided by the Brahman Sabha and the Rajsabha. The difficult law-points were settled with the help of Vidnyaneshwar's commentary known as the Mitakshara.[5]

Rajwade has published a document [6] of March 1686 giving details of a council of Brahmans and state councillors called to reclaim a Brahman from Islam to Hinduism. This council permitted Shudhi and penance on the authority of the Mitakshara, etc.

There is another decision by a Dharmasabha wherein Dadaji Kond Dev was present. Therein some law-points had to be settled. The decision was given after consulting the Mitakshara.

1, Shivaji, Part III, p. 33. Sh. Ch. S. II, p. 359; see p. 294.
2-3. P. S. S. Docs. 993, 995. 4. P. S. S. II, Doc. 1816.
5. Sanads and Letters by Wad and Parasnis, p. 115.
6. Rajwade, VII, pp. 36-38.

Thus it is clear that during Shivaji's time the Mitakshara commentary on Yajnavalkya was recognized by the people as the standard work on law. Moreover, Manu Smriti, Vyavahara Mayukha and Kamalakara were also referred to as authorities in legal disputes.

7. Chief Justice and Panditrao—The Chief Justice had jurisdiction over all suits in the kingdom. His seal was to be put on all judgments given by him. Even Panditrao, the head of the ecclesiastical department, had the right to countersign all documents issued by the king relating to Āchāra, Vyavahāra, and Prāyaschitta - the three parts of the Dharma Shastra. Some revisionary power was thus vested in the Panditrao, otherwise he would not give his approval to the decisions of the secular courts.

8. Municipal autonomy— In towns and market places Panchayats consisting of officers and merchants were quite common. Many of these places had charters of rights from the king and enjoyed privileges of self-government in political and fiscal matters. Only two or three instances will be given here.

There are two examples of charters given to Athani in 1683 and to Bankapur in 1686, but being traditional these are illustrative of the fact that during the seventeeth century all towns and ports enjoyed more or less similar rights. (i) Immunity from payment of certain taxes was conferred on Athani for seven years and on Bankapur for eleven years. (ii) All goods taken away by robbers and thieves if not recovered by government officers, were to be made good by the government. (iii) The intestate property was not to be taken as escheat by the government, but was to be given to the proper successors by the city Panchayat. (iv) All kinds of disputes, immoral deeds, even murders up to eleven were pardoned. Cases were to be decided by the Panchayat. (v) Various kinds of taxes were either reduced or remitted. (vi) Forced labour was not to be demanded from the city. By these means encouragement was given to the people for rapidly developing depopulated or declining cities.[1]

1. Sh. Ch, S. VI, pp, 368-387.

It has been noted that Benares was looked upon as the greatest seat of learning. The decisions given by the reputed scholars of that holy place were recognized by the people all over India. There was a quarrel between the Jains and Lingayats of Athani regarding the respect to be paid to their Swamis at the time of their visit to the place. The Lingayats brought a written order from Kashi that the people of Athani should go out to receive the Lingayat Swami in procession. A Panchayat consisting of all officers and Balutas of the city was held to examine the genuineness of the Benares dictum and the claim of the Lingayats was accepted. Sometime after the Jains claimed to have brought a similar order. Another Panchayat was held to examine the Benares dictum regarding them, and the Panchas refused to accept the same. Thus the state officials, village officers and the people played an important part in regulating the affairs of the town and villages.[1]

9. Enforcement of decisions—Several means were adopted to enforce the decisions of the Panchayats. (1) The parties had to give in writing their consent to abide by the decision of the Panchayat. (2) One or two men stood security for each party to ensure the carrying out of the decision. (3) Oaths were administered to the disputants and fine was to be imposed for violating the decision. The Hindus were bound by oaths and warned not to break the agreements, otherwise they could incur the sin of killing a cow at Benares. The Muslims were to swear by swine, and they incurred the sin of eating bacon for going against a certain decision.[2]

(4) The parties were given a warning to abide by the decision, otherwise they were considered 'to commit a crime against the Dewan and be unjust to the Gots.' In hundreds of documents these words are to be found. The king is nowhere mentioned. He remains in the background. Only his dewan or minister figures prominently. Hence an impersonal reference to administration was made. No personal loyalty or fear was evoked among the

1. Sh. Ch. S. II, 358, 359 of 1658.
2. Sh. Ch. S. VI, p. 35.

disputants. The violator was to be punished by a fine taken by the government. This amount of the fine was some times settled by the Panchayat. This must have varied with the economic position of disputants, the amount of property involved and the frequency of the guilt committed. For instance, in an arbitration held at Supa in 1658, this amount was two hundred Hons, but for violating the arbitration the amount of fine was raised to 500 Hons or Rs. 2,000.

In cities the disputants were considered to commit crimes against the city by violating the decision of the Panchayat. Thus the city formed an administrative unit which was to be considered sacred by the inhabitants.

(5) Victory certificates (जयपत्र) and property documents (वतनपत्र) with proper seals and signatures were issued to the winning party and the government officers concerned.

10. Ordeals from ancient times—The Hindu society used to hold trial by ordeals from the time of the Upanishads. Even the law-books of Apastamba, Manu, Narada, and Vishnu mention two to five forms of ordeals, while Brihaspati and Pitamaha give nine kinds. The balance, sacred libation, water, fire, heated metal, poison, rice-eating, drawing of Dharma-image, and ploughshare were the nine means used in the ordeals. Elaborate details of administering these are given in some commentaries.

Kautilya and Sukra too have testified to the use of ordeals in trials. As Mitakshara was followed in Maharashtra, some of the ordeals prevalent from ancient times and explained in that famous commentary, continued during the Muslim and Maratha periods.

Shivaji had the great ideal of reviving and strengthening Hindu laws and customs. He did not interfere in the customary law. The ordeals continued to be administered by the various courts during his regime.

11. Ordeals in Maharashtra—Some of the ancient forms of ordeals had become obsolete in Maharashtra. The prevalent forms are noticed below:—

(i) A complainant being dissatisfied with the decision of the Panchayat against him, demanded a fresh decision by ordeal. Thereupon one took place in 1626 before an idol in a temple in the form of picking up papers with the names of litigants on them.[1]

(ii) Ordeals were performed by drawing a piece of metal out of boiling oil,[2] or with the help of boiling water, and by burning lamps in a temple or a mosque.

(iii) A heated ball was carried on a hand which was covered with leaves of peepal tree. Two such cases are mentioned in docs. 41 and 132.

(iv) A disputant enjoyed the latitude of refusing to undergo an ordeal and demand another, even after having consented to perform a particular one. For instance, a man, being dissatisfied with the decision of the Got Council, was ready to undergo a water-ordeal. He changed his mind and requested that the case be decided by an oath taken in a mosque. Afterwards he rejected even this proposal and wanted the first ordeal. The Panchayat decided that the disputants should pour water over each other's hands. This form of ordeal too was not accepted by him, and he announced his intention of undergoing the fire-ordeal.

The details of the first form of the ordeal by water are reproduced by Dr. Sen.[3] The disputants stood in a sacred river and the rightful party was drawn out of the water by a trustworthy man in the presence of the Panchayat.

(v) There was another simple form of an ordeal performed before the god in the village temple. On one chit the word 'head (of the god)' and on the other the word 'body (of the god)' was written. The picker of the former chit was considered to have won the case.[4]

The form of the ordeal was generally proposed by the Panchayat, but some times it was settled by the ruler himself.[5]

1. P. S. S. Doc. 230, 2. Ibid., Docs. 123, 159.
3. Sen, Ad. S. of the Marathas, p. 365.
4. Wad, Sanads and Letters, p. 38.
5. P. S. S. Doc. 1240 of 1669.

12. Basic principles— A few cases are referred to here for explaining the principles underlying the judicial procedure in general, and the administration of ordeals in particular. We will first confine ourselves to the first half of the 17th century, a period immediately preceding the rise of Shivaji to power. The first case deserving our notice is between a Hindu and a Muslim of Masur. Their ancestors had committed murder of each other for the sake of Patilship. The case was first decided by the Got Council of the village and then by the Deshak Council of the Pargana. The Hindu complainant appealed to the king who sent the case to be decided by Ambar Khan. He gave his judgment, the case was again decided against the defendant by the Muslim officer of the district. Still the Muslim did not give up the Patilship. Thereupon the complainant demanded justice from the officers. The defendant desired the case to be transferred to an independent law-expert resident at a distant place. Thereupon the case was submitted to two Brahman Dharmadhikaris of Paithan. The parties gave a writing to abide by the decision of this court. Their statements were recorded, and the necessary papers were examined by the judges. The Muslim demanded an ordeal to be performed by the Hindu plaintiff. The court referred to the lawbook of Vidnyaneshwar's Mitakshara and decided that no ordeal could be held in the existence of appropriate documentary evidence and witnesses available in this case. The learned judges further declared that the defendant deserved a death-sentence, but since there was the Muslim rule and the defendant was a Muslim, he was pardoned. He was asked to give a Yajit-patra or victory certificate to the complainant and to hand over the Patilship to the latter. This document was signed in the presence of the Muslim Havaldar of Paithan and given into the custody of the Hindu winner.[1] It must have been noticed that a Muslim demanded his appeal to be heard by a Hindu lawyer. The Muslim officer of Karhad and the Muslim Havaldar of Paithan both had confidence in the impartial judgment to be given by the Brahman Dharmadhikari. The Hindu judges administered justice according to the Hindu law-books. These

1. Sh. Ch, S, I, p. 1; see Docs. 39, 98 and 123 of P. S. S..

legal authorities were acceptable to the Muslim rulers and the Muslim people. Similarly, the ordeals were performed by the Muslims as well as the Hindus even during the Muslim rule. Though trial by ordeal was definitely opposed to Islamic law, yet the Muhammedan rulers in the Deccan did not or could not put it down. Besides, the legal terminology used in law cases was mainly based on ancient Sanskrit law-books, especially on the Polity of Sukra. The words like अग्रवादी (complainant), पश्चिम वादी (defendant), यजित पत्र or जय पत्र (victory certificate), दिव्य (ordeal) have grown obsolete to-day, but were intelligible to the masses of those days.[1]

The government of the day afforded sufficient latitude to the litigants for appeal from one court to another, while it kept itself apart from directly interfering in the administration of justice. The majority of cases must have been decided by the peoples' courts. The masses must have been free from oppression on account of the enjoyment of judicial autonomy.

Several documents (nos. 8-12) on the Desh Kulkarniship of Shirwal town are published.[2] It appears that the Panchayat consisted of all the Deshaks, Shethes, Mahajans, the Twelve Balutas, all the hereditary cultivators of Pargana Shirwal and certain Mokadams and eminent neighbours of other towns. It was presided over by an officer called Rajmudra. The statements of the two parties were written on *Tadpatri* paper. The president asked the assembly to consider the means by which the case was to be decided. All unanimously desired to hold an ordeal. The parties consented to undergo the same. The hands of both the complainant and defendant were thoroughly washed and covered with gloves and sealed. They were then kept in custody in the fort. Next day the assembly met at the temple of Kedareshwar. There the complainant was asked to draw out the a boiling mixture of oil and butter. He did it

1. P. S. S. Doc. 50,

2. Sh. Cb, S. I. pp. 5-18. A similar case has been Vritta, II, p. 153.

of all, and showing the same to all he dropped it. Then he put his hand under his arm-pit and walked round the shrine of the god. The hands of both were again put in gloves and sealed. They were then kept in the fort for two days. On the third day the assembly met again in the temple. The parties were brought in. Their hands were examined and it was found that the complainant had not suffered at all by drawing out the metal from the boiling oil. Therefore the assembly gave judgment in favour of the complainant.

A suitor performed an ordeal and lost his case. Yet he did not accept this verdict and appealed to the authorities to reconsider his case. Thereupon a fresh trial took place.[1]

One most noteworthy case of an ordeal performed in the presence of Shivaji and a great Council has already been mentioned. The Raja, being requested by the members to remit the fine of Gunahgari to Kharade and the Harki gift from the winning party, acceded to their wish. Then documents were made to transfer the Patilship to the winning party.

It is evident that even the ruler, his ministers and high officers sat as members of the law courts and did not impose their will upon other members. Such a practice brings out the democratic character of the judicial assemblies and the consequent confidence of the people in them. In no other territory in India such a democracy was enjoyed by the people of those days. Delay and denial of justice were common in Mogul India. In the Maratha Empire prompt justice through Panchayats consisting of their own neighbours, relatives, equals and even friends, was available to the litigants.

1. P. S. S. Doc. 52 of 1610 A. D.

CHAPTER X

The Religious Policy

1. Shiva incarnated for the protection of Hindu religion—In the words of saint Ramdas "there is no protector of religion like Shiva in this world. It is due to you that the Maharashtra religion has been saved."

The first and foremost ideal put by the elders before the young Shivarai was the protection of his religion from the onslaughts of the Muslims who were styled Mlechhas. For instance, his preceptor Kond Deva impressed upon his receptive mind that 'the whole earth is trampled down by the foreigners. All places, forts and towns are full of their forces. Important places should be possessed by you. Hindu kings and Hindu forces should be secured by you for your assistance. You should perform difficult deeds by supreme industry and daring. Then you will obtain the blessings of saints and the approval of God for your success.' [1]

His father Shahji asked the blessing of the god of Jejuri for the establishment of Shivaji's rule to relieve the sufferings of gods, cows and Brahmans and to revive the ancient religion.[2] In his famous letter to Shivaji, Shahji expressed satisfaction at the extension of Swaraj for such a noble and high ideal. All the Marathi chronicles also emphasize the same ideal in so many places that it is impossible to reproduce all the evidences here.

The Chitnis Chronicle opens with the introduction that "the Mlechha rule uprooted the Hindu religion from the earth. Gods, Brahmans, places of pilgrimage, cows and the people, all were undergoing oppressions of various kinds. Shivaji was born as an Avatara or Incarnation for the re-establishment of religion." The same thing is repeated in other sections.[3]

The court poet Bhushan has given expression to the same belief in unequivocal words. His lyric poetry is full of spirit and

1-3. Chitnis, sec. 18, 40, 41, 46, 51, 60, 77, 80, 84, 85, 86, 100, 173.

he is at his best in extolling the work of Shivaji as the restorer and preserver of the Hindu religion. This famous poet was neither a Maratha nor a resident of Maharashtra, but a Brahman of the United Provinces. He eloquently expressed the feelings of the millions of Hindus on the superhuman work performed by Shivaji. He has described him as an incarnation of Shiva, Vishnu and Indra. The Raja is likened to Parashurama, Rama, Krishna, Narsinha and Buddha of the days of yore for the establishment of religion and the destruction of irreligion. He is said to have been born for the total annihilation of the Mlechhas, whose sword was a shield for the Deccan, a wall for the Hindus, and death for the Turks.[1]

Just as the Muslim rulers took pride in calling themselves Ghazis, similarly Bhushan has given Shivaji the title of Ghazi, as he was the guardian of the Hindu religion.

He has been likened to a hydra who swallowed the armies of the Moguls,[2] or to Narsinha, the Man-lion incarnate who tore to pieces the forces of his foes.[3]

"Shiva preserved Hinduism and the emblems on the foreheads of the Hindus. By proctecting the Puranas and Smritis, he preserved the Vedic rites. He it was who prevented the capitals of the Rajput kings from falling into the hands of the Moguls. He preserved religion on this earth. He patronized men of genius. By his sword he dealt death-blows to the Moguls and kept peace in the world. He spread the Maratha fame by conquering countries after countries. Moreover, he preserved the Vedas and Puranas; nay, the name of Rama could be called out by the Hindus only through the political force of Shivaji. He was the preserver of the sacred bunch of hair on the heads of Hindus, the sacred thread on their shoulders and of the rosary in their hands. The Moguls in general and their emperor in particular were laid low. All the foes were reduced to ashes. By means of his sword Shivaji kept safe the frontiers of his kingdom. He preserved gods, temples and the family-deities. In short, he struck terror into the heart of Aurangzeb himself."

1. Shivaraj Bhushan, couplets II, 56, 71, 73, 75, 84, 142, 228, 348, 361.
2. Shiva Bhavani, coup. 48.
3. Sen, Sh. Chh., pp. 2, 3, 153.

Such are the sentimental out-pourings of the famous poet Bhushan. Let us now turn to the passive saint Tukaram. He too described Shivaji as an Avatara who performed the duty of preserving religion and uprooting irreligion. The Maratha Raja was only twenty years old in 1650, when Tukaram is said to have died. Yet the saint is represented to have been so much impressed by the successes of the young dreamer that he declared him to be an Avatara or omniscient incarnation of God Shiva himself.

But the militant and patriotic saint Ramdas was so deeply charmed with the personality of this struggling adventurer that he more than once described him as an incarnation of God in his inimitable language. It is not necessary to reproduce the noble sentiments expressed in the आनंदवन भुवन of Dasabhodha-the Magnum Opus of Ramdas, but a few lines will not be out of place here.

"The power [1] of the Mohamedans is gone..... The Mother Goddess who had bestowed a boon upon Shivaji has come with a bludgeon in her hand, and has killed the sinners of old in the Region of Bliss. I see the Goddess walking in the company of the King, intent upon devouring the wicked and the sinners. She has protected her devotees of old, and she will again protect them to-day."

Finally, we may bring in the important evidence of Ramchandra Pant [2] on the work of his master. Says he, "Shivaji rescued the Dharma, and established gods and Brahmans in their due places. ..... He created a new type of administration for his territories, forts and armies, and conducted the government without hindrance and brought it under one system of co-ordination and control. He created wholly a new order of things. He forced Aurangzeb to immerse in a sea of agony and sorrow, and acquired for himself a world-wide and well-acknowledged fame."

"This kingdom is for the good of the gods and Brahmans."[3] It did not exist either for the selfish ends of Shivaji or for the

1. R. D. Ranade, Mysticism in Maharashtra, P. 367.
2. Polity, p. 8.
3. हें राज्य देवा ब्राह्मणाचें आहे.

welfare of the foreigners. All the resources of the state could be dedicated to the preservation of religion. It is now evident that Shivaji was not actuated by the selfish and devilish motive of amassing wealth by plunder, but by the highest and holiest aim of restoring and regenerating the Hindu religion and of establishing Swaraj.

Shivaji considered himself a servant of religion. Consequently he had adopted a life of mendicancy and humble service for its propagation. Though he did not become a monk like Asoka, yet he did his best to protect, patronize and promulgate the Hindu religion.

Like the great Asoka who made a gift of his empire to the Baudha Sangha, Shivaji is said to have made a gift of his kingdom to saint Ramdas, who returned the same to the Raja with the advice that the kingdom was not for his benefit but for the glorification of Dharma. Shivaji was required to spend his whole energy and wealth for the welfare of the Hindu religion.

Thus from the beginning of his political career to the end of his life, Shivaji devoted himself heart and soul to the protection and propagation of his religion under the inspiration of his parents, his preceptor, the poets and the saints of the time.

2. Muslim persecution of the Hindus — The Hindus were persecuted in the Muslim states of the Deccan, though in the north on account of the political and military power of the Rajput princes, their blood relationship with the Mogul Emperors, and the commendable policy of toleration begun by Akbar and partially continued by his two successors, the Hindus escaped from persecution for about a century. The papers collected by Mr. Parasnis include a long document containing the following instructions of Muhammad Adil Shah to his successors.

"All the high posts should be reserved for the Muslims; none of these should be given to Hindus, but clerkships may be filled by them.

Even the richest Hindu should not be able to claim equality with a poor Muslim.

In a quarrel between a Muslim and a Hindu the former should not be punished by the Kazi for doing a wrong to the Hindu.

All classes of Hindus should be subjected to the Jazia. The clerk who is to receive this tax, should remain sitting, while the tax-paying Hindu, howsoever rich he may be, should remain standing before him till the tax is paid."[1]

The duties of a judge (Kazi) are mentioned in two documents. In each of these he is instructed to break the Hindu idols in the temples of the Maratha people.[2]

3. Lament of the saints — A succession of thinkers, poets and saints from the mystical Dnyandeva to the militant Ramdas lamented the decline of the Hindu religion during more than three centuries. Mr. Bhat has brought together the passages in his famous Marathi book entitled Maharashtra Dharma. It is not necessary to refer to a summary of the laments of the saints here, since sidelights have already been given in the preceding pages from the writings of Tukaram, Ramdas and Bhushan.

Such is the incontestible evidence of oppressions committed upon the Hindus by the Muslim rulers in the south. Even when there was no actual persecution, the very indifference of the state to the religious, moral, intellectual and artistic activities of their subjects, led to their rapid decline.

4. Shivaji's policy of religious equality — We have seen how the Hindus had to pass their lives in the suffocating atmosphere of religious persecutions, temple-destruction, desecration of images, iconoclasm, social and communal inequalities, crushing taxes and the impoverishing ostracism from political life. In fact, they were helots in their own country. Oppression of centuries had made them fatalistic, unambitious and unprogressive. Shivaji saw the tide of persecution and oppression advancing from Delhi to the Deccan in the reign of Aurangzeb. He would have been justified in retaliating the fanaticism of the Muslim rulers and paying them in their own coins. But he was not a product of his times. He

1. Parasnis, I. S., Vol. II, p. 26.
2. Wad and Parasnis-Sanadapatren, pp. 77, 81.

rose far above the contemporary rulers of India and Europe in following a liberal policy of religious harmony, tolerance and equality. Herein lies his claim to greatness.

5. Shivaji's protest against Aurangzeb's fanaticism— The letter written by Shivaji to Aurangzeb has been rightly described by Sir J. Sarkar as a masterpiece of clear logic, calm persuasion, and political wisdom. It enunciates certain universal principles and policies followed by the enlightened Mogul monarchs for the guidance of Aurangzeb and men of his creed. For instance, it is said that all men created by God are living examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperament; that kingdoms prosper and the subjects become happy only when they repose in the cradle of peace and security; that Islam and Hinduism are only terms of contrast; and that in every place of worship whether it be called a mosque or a temple, the same God is worshipped by all. Further on, the monarch is reminded that even the Quran which is a Divine Book and the Word of God, styles Him the Lord of all and not of Muslims only; that the Jazia was unlawful, impolitic, inexpedient and an innovation; that the tax might have been justified, if there was perfect security in his empire, but everywhere there was insecurity and unsafety, and the subjects were being plundered; that the Hindus already crushed by heavy taxes were living in abject poverty.

It was improper for the richest emperor on earth to covet the beggar's bowl and levy Jazia from monks, paupers, Brahmans, mendicants, famine-stricken and ruined wretches. It was no heroism on his part to oppress ants and flies. If he possessed any valour at all, he should first collect the tax from Udaipur or from the writer of this letter.

Aurangzeb had already lost many forts and provinces, and Shivaji would leave no stone unturned in further ravaging and devastating his territories in case the Emperor persisted in the policy of continuing the Jazia. The Lord of the Peacock Throne blinded by fanaticism and imperial might, paid no heed to these convincing arguments. But Shivaji had lighted a fire which could not be easily extinguished. He had succeeded in creating an

indomitable spirit of resistance, a sense of honour, an intense feeling of patriotism and an irrepressible will of independence amongst the unified Marathas, so that Aurangzeb could not suppress them with his myriads of mercenaries.

The Raja set a noble example of perfect security and religious equality for all his subjects. In that age of fanaticism and intolerance he was the first Indian ruler who attempted to found an empire broadly based upon the welfare and benefit of all his subjects. Shivaji was no less zealous than Aurangzeb in devotion to his own religion, yet as a ruler he allowed every religion to prosper in a free atmosphere under his protection. He was the patron of all religions and the real guardian of his people.

6. Islam patronized by Shivaji— 1. After the murder of Afzal Khan, a large part of the Bijapur territory came into the possession of Shivaji. The latter was a mere Mokasedar of such districts as Poona, Indapur, Chakan, Supa and Baramati. Now he became an independent ruler of these parts. Therefore he ordered his officers to continue the charities to both the Hindus and Muslims as these were prevalent before the regime of Afzal Khan. He did not discriminate against the Muslims, even though Afzal is said to have desecrated the temples of Tuljapur and Pandarpur.

2. Even Aurangzeb himself gave him the certificate of being the "Defender of the Muslim religion" in his letters [1] of 14th July, 1659, 26th Aug. and 28th Aug., 1666 and 5th March, 1668. These four documents cover a period of ten years.

3. Dr. Fryer visited Kalyan and has paid a glowing tribute to Shivaji's policy of tolerance.[2]

4. Grant Duff has truly said that, "Shivaji never sequestrated any allowance fixed by the Mahomedan Government for the support of tombs, mosques, or places of commemoration in honour of saints."[3]

5. Dr. Dellon, a great contemporary traveller and writer, records that Shiva tolerated all religions and that he was looked upon as one of the most politic princes in these parts.[4]

1. Raj. VIII, 14, 15, 16 documents. 2. Fryer, Vol. I, p. 41n.
3. History of the Mahrattas, p. 104. 4. Eng. Records, II, 348.

6. Khafi Khan is conspicuous in his hatred of Shivaji, and in his history, he rarely does justice to his work. Even on the demise of this great warrior and conqueror, the historian made a chronogram of the date of his death by saying that "the infidel went to hell." Yet he pays a glowing tribute to this "Hell-dog" for his religious tolerance in these words: "But he made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to Muslims, the Book of God, or any one's women. Whenever a copy of the Holy Kuran came into his hands, he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Mahomedan followers. When the women of any Hindu or Mahomedan were taken prisoners by his men and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over their liberty." Further on, he remarks that "he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Mahomedans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and any one who disobeyed them received punishment."

7. Shivaji paid respect to both Hindu and Muslim saints and sought their blessings. His interview with Baba Yaqut of Kelshi near Janjira is worthy of notice. He went to receive the blessing of this hermit for the conquest of Janjira. To his surprise the saint left the seat and walked off. Shivaji followed him. Thereupon the hermit returned to his seat, and finding the Raja very anxious to receive a boon from him, he pulled out a white hair from his moustache and handed it to him. The Raja entrusted it to an accompanying officer for making an amulet. The hair was afterwards lost, and it was believed that, therefore, Janjira could not be reduced by Shivaji.[1]

7. Employment of Muslims— 1. Shivaji freely employed Muslim soldiers who flocked to his banner from the Bijapur, Golconda and Mogul rulers from 1650 onwards. Although these men were mere mercenaries and many of them were Pathans and Persians, yet they did not renounce his cause, or show any treason to him, but very faithfully served him up to his death.

1. Vākaskar, 91 Q. Bakhar, p. 130.

2. Even Siddi Sambal who had been his deadly enemy, and his son-in-law, Siddi Misri accepted Shivaji's service, and continued to faithfully serve his son Sambhaji. One Shama Khan was a cavalry-officer.

3. Two of the admirals of his fleet were Ibrahimkhan and Daulatkhan. There were other Muslim officers, including the two Siddis mentioned above. Thus the Maratha fleet which was constantly at war with the Abyssinian and Mogul fleets, was manned and officered by Muslims.

4. One Quazi Haider was a high officer in the service of Shivaji. After the Raja's death, he migrated to Delhi and rose to be chief justice under Aurangzeb.

5. The castle of Phonda was captured by the Raja after much bloodshed. The first governor appointed by him to rule over such an important place was a Muslim.

6. The Bakhars have related a remarkable story of the devotion of his servants and officers to their master. A Muslim boy who was a faithful page, accompanied him to Agra. He was fully in the know of the plot and was left alone to serve Hiroji Farzand who impersonated Shivaji on the sick-bed at Agra. Both of them left the house on the pretext of bringing medicine for the patient, but were seized and severely beaten to give out details of the plot. The Muslim boy was expected to expose the Kafir (heretic) in the cause of Islam, but he refused up to the last to give out the secret. Such a devotion to duty and love for the master, even at the loss of life, are rare in history; but Shivaji's greatness and overpowering personality impelled his servants to sacrifice their lives cheerfully for him.

In short, Shivaji appointed Muslims in the military, naval and civil services. Even his personal service was not barred to them. He showed respect to Muslim saints, gave funds to their religious institutions, and continued their old grants. Such a national and liberal policy in that age of religious persecution places Shivaji in the rank of the greatest rulers like Harsha, Sher Shah and Akbar.

8. Reclamation or Shuddhi — Shivaji and his mother were both very liberal in their religious outlook. They realized the danger of the extinction of Hinduism by the constant drain of apostates to Islam and Christianity. Therefore they tactfully conquered the prejudices and opposition of the orthodox Hindus against reclaimed Muslims. (1) Bajaji Nimbalkar, the ruler of Phaltan was brought back to Hinduism. The Raja gave his own daughter in marriage to Bajaji's son to show to the public that the Nimbalkars were restored to the rights and privileges of the Hindu society. This historic conversion is represented in a painting preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (2) The second glorious case is that of Netaji Palkar, the famous commander of the Maratha cavalry. He accepted Islam in the Mogul service, but was won back after ten years. The Raja took him back in the Hindu fold and bestowed a high military rank upon him. (3) Shivaji led frequent expeditions into the Portuguese territory for preventing forcible proselytism of the Hindus into Christians. He required the Christian fathers to accept Hinduism as punishment for their activities in converting Hindus to their religion. In 1667 " he cut off the heads of four padres [1] that refused to turn Marathas of his own persuasion, they having counselled the destruction of all that were opinionated as themselves; which so terrified the Viceroy that he was forced to revoke his fierce and severe edict. Shivaji burnt and destroyed all the country, and carried away 150 lack of pagodas." Thus he was not only ready to take back apostates, but even persons of other religions were welcome into Hinduism. (4) Shivaji issued a proclamation to the Hindus of Goâ in 1668. An extract from it will reveal the intensity of his religious and patriotic sentiments and the means adopted by him to prevent conversion. Here is a small extract from the long document. "Slaughter of the most revered cows by Yavanas and Mlechhas, destruction of our Hindu temples, disrespect of our all-honoured and all-pervading religion shown by these low people, violation of the most sacred chastity of our sisters and mothers brought about by these villains — such horrible things happen constantly. Does it become us who call

1. Shivaji, Part III, p. 508.

ourselves Kshatriyas to silently see these acts like cowards, and to turn a deaf ear to them? Alas! Alas! It is a most shameful thing that instead of striving restlessly till death for the uplift of our country which should be dear to us like our parents, we should be whiling away our time foolishly, tactlessly and indifferently even in the critical times like the present. What more deplorable thing can there be than the fact that we, with our own hands, should destroy our houses, our gods, our religion and culture by adopting a fawning attitude towards the Mlechhas, only for the sake of a little livelihood?" [1]

(5) Here is some English evidence on the religious policy of Shivaji towards the Portuguese. Both the parties used to "*daily* quarrel, the cheifest cause of his hatred to them being for forcing orphans of his caste to turn Roman Catholics." (6) The Captain of Bassien turned against the Jesuits for bringing troubles on the state by their proselytizing zeal, and even went to the length of burning their houses. Thus it is clear that a very great pressure was brought by Shivaji on the Portuguese government for stopping conversion.[2]

(7) He was ever watchful against insults offered to his co-religionists by the Siddis. He even invested Bombay for the return of Brahmans who had been kidnapped by the Siddi and kept there. The English severely punished the culprits, returned the Brahmans, and thus saved the island from invasion. That Shivaji was far in advance of his times in respect of conversion to Hinduism, is proved by the fact that even after the lapse of 260 years, the Hindus are still opposed to the Shuddhi movement. The greatness of Shivaji is manifest from the conquest of the deep-rooted orthodoxy of the fanatic Brahmans of his time.

9. The Hindus, a nation — The Hindus of the time of Shivaji were divided and sub-divided into hundreds of castes and territorial groups. Even the Brahmans of Maharashtra were divided into three

1. गोमांतक शुद्धीचा इतिहास by शंकर चौंडो सीरसागर P. 112.
2. Shivaji, II, 521. Nov. 1675.

mutually warring groups of the Konkan, Karad and the Desh. Their jealousies have continued even up till now. They do not inter-marry and inter-dine with each other. Similarly, the Marathas were divided into numerous sub-castes. The jealousies of the Bhosales, Ghorpades, Shirkes, Ghatages, Mores, Nimbalkars, and Dafles are well-known. The struggle of the Prabhus, Saraswats and Brahmans against each other and against the Marathas was no less keen. The lower classes, touchables and untouchables, were helots of the society. There was not even a pretence to social equality.

The greatness of Shivaji is evident from the attempts made by him to harmonize these antagonistic elements. He put an end to their struggles by giving each group opportunity to serve the state, by infusing into them the spirit of common nationality and an indomitable spirit of resistance to the foreigner. He quickened into them the sense of preserving their religion, race and culture from the onslaughts of the Muslims, and of self-confidence in their energies.

The Mawal peasants, the Hetkari labourers, the wild tribes of the Ramoshis and Bhils, the untouchables like Mangs and Mahars, the advanced classes made up of the Brahmans and Prabhus, the military people like the Marathas, one and all were united together for the service of the state. He showed to the Hindu world that a Brahman was not merely an expert in pen, but could boldly wield the sword, lead armies, and defeat even the invincible Moguls. Moreover, the wild tribes and passive peasants were turned into loyal and indomitable soldiers. The welfare, prosperity and progress of the state were the aims for which all the castes and groups were to work under the magnetic guidance of his constructive genius. The saints furthered this cause of political unification and social fusion of castes by their forceful preaching. Just read the blood-stirring appeal of saint Ramdas. "Die for the sake of religion, but do not die till you have killed others. Our Raj should be won back by killing and murdering others. In normal times kings should do their royal duties, Kshatriyas should perform the duties of a Kshatriya, Brahmans should do theirs in all ways. But, if at all, gods are destroyed, death is better than

life itself. Then it should be understood that even one's own religion is destroyed. All Marathas should be brought together, our Maharashtra Religion should be furthered. If no endeavour is made to save it, our ancestors will laugh at us. There is no doubt at all that enemies of our gods are all dogs, and should be thoroughly destroyed. Devotees of gods will surely become victorious.

" Gods should be raised to the head. All the people together should raise a cry, and the destroyer of our territory should be extirpated for the sake of establishing Dharma. For this purpose discrimination, thought and unending effort should be adopted as occasion arises. Rama killed Rávan through the boon of Goddess Tulaja. Oh! this Goddess Tulaja Bhavani is the famous boon-giver of Rama. For this reason Ramdas contemplates her in his mind.[1] "

Such stirring appeals of intensive nationalism must have brought about national unity and religious awakening throughout Maharashtra. The work of the saints in furthering religious reforms among all classes of the people is discussed in the next chapter.

1. B. V. Bhat, Mah. Dh., p. 184.

CHAPTER XI

Renaissance and Reformation

1. Spread of mysticism under the Yadavas — Under the free atmosphere of the Devagiri Yadavas towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, there arose a galaxy of saints who were the founders and propagators of mysticism in Maharashtra. Dnyandeva, a Brahman (1271-1294); Namadeva, a tailor; Gora, a potter; Samvata, a gardener; Narahari, a goldsmith; Choka, an untouchable; Sena, a barber; Janabai, a maid-servant; Kanhopatra, a dancing girl; these form a group of teachers who were working together for the spread of democratic mysticism. It has been aptly remarked that 'the gates of the Bhakti school were ever open. Whoever entered was hailed as a brother, nay more, was honoured as a saint. All were *santas*. Age and sex, caste and class, breathed not in this equalising air. For five successive centuries, Maharashtra was the abode of that noblest and truest of all Democracies, the Democracy of the Bhakti School.' [1]

2. Results of religious persecution—The fall of the Yadava Empire, the foundation of the Bahamani kingdom and the aggressions of Muslims in the Deccan, smothered the light of Bhakti lit up by the said saints. With the spread of Islam, oppression grew apace. The Muslim rulers in India demolished the temples of the Hindus and Jains; built mosques instead; burnt libraries; abolished Mathas or religious houses and monasteries; discouraged education, literature and art; and tried numerous means to tempt and force Hindus into their fold. The process of conversion went on increasing with the growth and deepening of the Muslim rule in India. The Aryan culture and social structure found no place in the new polity. Classical literature had a rapid decline. Thousands of schools died out or were forcibly closed down. The masses began to sink deeper and deeper into illiteracy

1. R. D. Ranade, Mysticism in Maharashtra, p. 209.

and ignorance. In fact, the study of letters had perished for all except a few Brahmans, merchants and upper classes.

3. Political conditions favourable to recrudescence of religious thought—The lamp of Bhakti remained flickering for two centuries. (a) During the 16th century the dissensions of the Deccani and foreign Muslims led the kings and the court parties to depend upon the good-will of their Hindu subjects and the Hindu nobility. Persecution and intolerance naturally declined in the Muslim states. (b) The presence of high Hindu officials and lords in the Deccan states blunted the edge of persecution. (c) Then there arose a constant danger of Mogul invasion of the Deccan from the close of the 16th century. The rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda were naturally anxious to win the sympathy of their subjects and thereby continue the existence of their states, otherwise these were in danger of being absorbed in the Mogul Empire. All these political causes produced an atmosphere of freedom of thought and of religious liberty. In such a liberal atmosphere, Ekanatha, Tukaram and their disciples preached mysticism, condemned caste, and expounded means for the purification of the Hindu religion. This movement received special impetus from Shahji and his son Ekoji in the Karnatic and by Shivaji and his successors in Maharashtra. While on one side the reformation movement served to further the cause of Swaraj, on the other, it was strengthened and advanced by the Swaraj. In fact, reformation and Swaraj are causally related to each other.

4. The Renaissance—With the establishment of Swaraj a new era dawned upon Maharashtra. The patronage shown to scholars and saints by Shahji and Shivaji produced a renaissance here. No other period of history can be said to be so rich in saints, seers and scholars, poets, prophets and philosophers as that of Shahji and Shivaji. They released forces of life in all spheres. The minds of Hindus were filled with the joy of political liberty and religious freedom from foreign oppression. The elevating spirit of security of religion and property permeated the people. Released from the shackles of centuries, the Hindu mind could have free flights in the

spiritual sphere, and in the realms of poetry and literature. There was a real quickening of intellectual, literary and religious life in the whole of Maharashtra, when persecution was replaced by encouragement and indifference by patronage. The period became amazingly remarkable for the flowering of the genius, so that seers, scholars and saints achieved such a fame that they have left their glory to our own day.

5. **The Reformation**—These saints began to shed spiritual light by speaking to the people in their own tongue, instead of in the Sanskrit language which was an all-India medium for the learned alone. During the 16th century pious men well-known for their saintly character, devotional spirit, spiritual gifts and a forceful literary style, preserved Hinduism by popularizing such classics as the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita and the Puranas. They stimulated men's minds for spiritual culture, created a love for their ancient religion and polity; and finally blunted the edge of Muslim intolerance. Thus this reformation movement was miraculously effective in safeguarding the Hindu religion and neutralizing the aggressions of Islam. It created a valuable literature in Marathi; served to unify the nation by removing caste-distinctions; raised the Shudras and the outcastes to the social status and spiritual power of the Brahmans; improved the status of women and sanctified family life; brought about a reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims and thus made the whole nation more tolerant than before; it checked the excesses of polytheism; it condemned all external forms of religion by emphasizing love and faith as the means of realizing God. In the words of the late Justice Ranade, "it tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action, and prepared it, in a way no other nation in India was prepared, to take the lead in re-establishing a united native power in the place of foreign domination."[1]

6. **The revival of old cults** was the greatest feature of the religious life of the 15th and 16th centuries. The worship of

1. Ranade, R. M. P., p. 172.

Vithoba and Dattatreya was popularized by five saints in Maharashtra.

Bhanudas (1448-1513) brought back the idol of Vithoba from Vijayanagar to Pandharpur, and thoroughly devoted himself to its worship. Thereby the cult of Vithoba was revived and strengthened by him in Maharashtra.

Narasinha Saraswati flourished about the middle of the 15th century, as is seen from a reference in the Guru-Charitra, a work by Gangadhar who was a famous disciple of the saint. No work of Narasinha Saraswati is so far known, but he was responsible mainly for the spread of devotion to Dattatreya in Maharashtra. The Guru-Charitra is the sacred book of this sect.

Janardan Swami (1504-1575), the famous Guru of Ekanatha, was in the service of a Muhammedan officer in the fort of Devagiri. He was a great devotee of Dattatreya, and is known in Maharashtra more on account of his numerous disciples than by any literary work.

7. **Saint Ekanatha** was a descendant of Bhanudas and the foremost disciple of Janardan Swami. Given to the devotion of God from his early childhood, he rejuvenated Bhagvat Dharma in Maharashtra. Being a close student of Dnyaneshwari, he gave a new version of that famous poem. Ekanatha's main work is his melodious commentary on the 11th chapter of the 'Maha-Bhagvat.' His 'Rukmini-Swayamvar' too has captured the hearts of so many people that it is widely read by girls expectant of marriage. He may be said to have lived from 1533 to 1599 A. D. Ekanatha made the ideas of Vedanta familiar to the man in the street. "With Jnanadeva, philosophy had reigned in the clouds; with Ekanatha, it came upon the earth and dwelt among men. He championed the voiceless millions, espousing the cause of the vernaculars. His heart went out to the spiritually blind and mute, and he knew that the way to reach them was to approach them through their own mother tongue."

The sixteenth century closed with the pregnant teachings of [illegible] turies and a half the people of

Maharashtra had been partly aroused by the writings of this saint and his few disciples. Among these the following four have played an important role in the spread of the Bhagvat Dharma. Dasopant, one of the closest disciples of the saint, was a member of the Ekanatha Mystic Circle. He is the author of the biggest Marathi commentary on the Bhagvadgita containing 1¼ lacks of couplets. He lived from 1551 to 1615 A. D. Jani Janardan, another famous follower of Ekanatha, is an author of many philosophical and devotional verses. He died in 1601 A. D. Rama Janardan and Vithal Renukanandan also belong to the Ekanatha Circle. Like the other three saints and scholars, they contributed much to ennoble the social and religious atmosphere of the time.

Vishnudas, Madhavdas, Mahalingdas, Tryambakraj, Krishnadas and Krishna Yadnyavalki were the other most famous poets contemporary with Ekanatha. One Muslim saint, born of the royal Bahamani dynasty, accepted Hinduism and was called Mrityumjaya Swami. He is the writer of numerous works on devotion and mysticism in Marathi.[1] The life-work of Ekanatha, his followers and contemporaries consisted in preaching the devotion of God even to the outcastes. This sect became very popular through its doctrine of "equality in devotion."

8. The immortal Tukaram—Now we come to another luminary in the religious sphere. His light has not faded, but has grown brighter with the lapse of centuries. He is the immortal Tukaram who has been a pillar of light and peace to millions of persons in Maharashtra. He was born in 1608 in a Shudra family which was given to the worship of Vithoba. He lost his parents at the age of thirteen and used to earn his livelihood by business. But he became more and more engaged in study and meditation, and ultimately turned a recluse. He began to compose verses, and gave numerous sermons to the people on spiritual topics and on the worship of Vithoba. His fame soon spread far and wide. Even Shivaji is said to have attended his sermons. He was able to attract a large number of devoted disciples who, inspired by the great genius of

1. S. K. Altekar, Shri Samartha Ch., pp. 412-41

their preceptor, became preachers of his doctrines. In the words of Prof. Bhate, "by satire, by ridicule, by cajolery and by supplication, he tried his best to reform the society of his time. Thus he was a radical reformer of social customs and ideas. The influence of Tukaram over men of his time was wonderful. Thus Tukaram was under the class of saints and teachers who have been prophets of all ages."[1]

9. Disciples of Tukaram — Moraya Gosawi and his son Chintamani of Chinchwad were the devoted followers of Tukaram. The former was a famous saint in the early period of Shivaji and composed the Ganesh Purana. He is said to have often visited Ramdas. Thirteen other learned disciples of Tukaram vigorously carried on the work of the master in various places. These were the centres of light, unity, devotion, spiritual solace and social reform among Hindus of all castes. We find among them Marathas, Brahmans, oilmen, gardeners, etc. Their names are Rameshvara, Gangadhar, Kond Bhatt, Santaji Teli, Navaji Mali, Shivaji Kasar, Abaji Joshi, Kondpatil, Mahadaji Pant, Gavarshet, Malji Gade, Malharpant Kulkarni, Konhoba, the younger brother of saint Tukaram.[2]

The names of a few more disciples who composed literary works were: Bhojling, Nagesha, Vithal Nand, Uddhav Chitghan, Sidhapal, Ranganath of Mogre, Niranjan of Karad, Vithal of Kalapur, Ganeshnath, Niloba, etc.

10. Contemporaries of Tukaram— Many more saints and poets richly contributed to the reformation and literary renaissance by their sermons and writings. The names of the outstanding personalities [3] are given below.

Mukteshwara (1608-1660), a grandson of saint Ekanatha, ranks very high as a poet. His Marathi version of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and other books has survived up till now. He was a contemporary of Tukaram.

1. G. C. Bhate, History of Modern Marathi Literature, p. 27.
2. J. R. Ajagaonkar, Tukaram, pp. 163-181.
3. S. K. Altekar, Shri Samartha Ch., pp. 417-428.

Vaman is one of the greatest poets of Maharashtra. He was a deep Sanskrit scholar and wrote works in that language. He was a most prolific writer of Marathi works.

There are numerous works written by Ramavallabhadas which have escaped the ravages of time. He was born at Daulatabad in 1610.

Shivakalyan flourished in the first half of the 17th century. He was a brilliant commentator on Dnyaneshwari, and a writer of books on Rama and Krishna.

Lolimbaraj of Junnar was another poet-saint of great fame. He also composed a work on medicine by name "Vaidyajivan" in 1633.

Shamaraja much influenced the religious thought of his time by writing Marathi commentaries on the Upanishads, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Bhagvata.

Bodhale Buva of Dhamangaon was one of those famous saints who were well known for their poetry and devotion. He was a composer of Abhangas.

Raghunatha Swami of Nasik was also a great devotee of Rama. He used to take the Ganges water to Rameshwaram and its water was carried back to Benares. Another Raghunatha was a Marathi poet of a very high order. Mention must be made of the celebrated poets like Shivaram, Mukund, Muchkund, Kashi, etc.

11. The Naked Messiah of Maharashtra — We now come to Ramdas, the greatest saint of Shivaji's time. Born in 1608 at Jamb in the Nizam's territory, he left his home to the surprise of all at the age of twelve years during the performance of his marriage ceremony. He spent the next twelve years in celebacy, meditation and realization of God by performing religious austerities. Then he visited the holy places of the Hindus throughout the length and breadth of India for twelve years. During his long travels he personally observed the religious, social and political condition of the Hindus in northern and southern India. His soul must have been deeply stirred at the degradation of the masses and

he might have been thinking out the means of their religious salvation and political deliverance. In one of his poems the Swami says that 'the people are oppressed by the Muhammedans, with the result that many are starving. Life and property are in danger and forced conversions are taking place. Human corpses are left on the ground uncared for, while those who are living have insufficient clothing.'

He made up his mind to found a new cult for the worship of Rama, and selected Chafal in the Satara district as a fit centre for his Math. He built there a temple of Rama and Hanuman, and began to preach the glorious deeds of the epic hero and his own principles of religion. Then he devoted ten years of his life (1654-1664) at Shivathar near Mahableshwar in writing a most inspiring work called Dasbodh, the *magnum opus* of the Ramdasi cult.

He had an extraordinary power of organization and a remarkable genius of selecting right men for conducting Maths in many important places throughout India. His magnetic personality, his unsullied character, his burning zeal, his vast learning, his grim earnestness, and his sweet eloquence inspired hundreds of men and women to devote themselves to his cause. They readily renounced the world, and became recluses like him. They took the sacred vow of propagating the Ramdasi cult amongst the people. He had indeed an unparalleled success in producing thousands of devoted disciples and followers. This naked Swami infused a new life among the masses. He can be rightly styled the naked Messiah of Maharashtra.

12. The work of the Messiah—A list of 111 disciples has been given by a biographer of Ramdas. Out of these 55 disciples were in charge of monasteries which were established from one end of India to another. Rameshwaram, Badrikedar, Dwarka, Benares, Ayodhaya, Muttra, Allahabad, Tanjore, Kanheri, Shrishaila, Kanjivaram, Karanja, Telangan, Pandharpur, Surat, Jamb, Chafal, Miraj were the important centres for the propaganda of the cult of Ramdas. The worship of Rama-the conqueror of the Rakshasas,

and the deification of Maruti—the personification of devotion and physical force, were taught to the people. Thus all these places became centres of politico-religious preaching for religious reform, Swaraj and unity among the Hindus. When Shivaji himself and high officials like Nilo Sondeva, Ramchandra Pant, Balaji Avaji, Prahlad Pant, etc. became disciples of the Swami, his mission must have received special strength among the masses. We will now name a few most prominent disciples who carried on the work of the master. The male disciples of Ramdas form a very large galaxy of poets and saints.

Shrestha was the elder brother of Ramdas; his real name was Gangadhar, but he used to call himself Rami-Ramdas. Two or three works on devotion such as Bhakti-Rahasya and Sulabhopaya were written by him. He died in 1677.

Jayaram Swami of Vadgaon and Ranganath Swami of Nigadi were called his sons by Guru Ramdas. The latter was devoted to the Ananda school of philosophy, and wrote a good many books on the Bhakti cult, such as Guru-Gita, Panchikarana, Shukarambha-Samvad and Yoga-Vasishthasara. He lived from 1612 to 1684.

Anandamurti of Brahmanal in the Satara district and Keshav Swami of Hyderabad were other prominent disciples who founded Maths for the propagation of the Ramdasi principles. Uddhav, a poet of great renown, was another distinguished disciple of the Swami. He was in charge of the two Maths at Takali and Indur in the Nizam's territory.

Kalyan, the greatest of the disciples of the saint, was in charge of the Domgaon Math (1678-1714). Diwakar Gosavi and Vasudeva Gosavi were highly respected disciples of the Swami. One Dinakar Gosavi, another disciple of Ramdas, was a great poet. He was

1. Additional disciples were: Bhimaji Sahapurkar, Trimbak, Devadas, Mahadeva, Musairam, Mauni Gosavi, Bholaram, Anantabhat, Dattatreya, Kodandaram, Hanumant, Divakarbhat, Bajipant Sahapurkar, Maharudra of Berar, Balakaram, Shridhar of Ramtek, Bhairav of Gokarna, Janardan of Surat, Shivram of Telangan, Sadashiva of Raichur, S. K. Altekar, 'Shri Samartha Charitra,' pp. 198-224; Deming, Ramdas and the Ramdasis, pp. 139-142.

at the head of the Tisgaon Math in the Ahmednagar district. Giridhar Swami, one of the most prolific writers, is the famous author of the Samartha Pratapa which records the events in Ramdas's life.

13. Women Saints— The era of Shivaji also gave birth to poets and saints among women who furthered the cause of the reformation.

Bahinabai (1628-1700), Venubai (D. 1678), Premabai, Akkabai, and Ambikabai are pre-eminent among them. The names of eighteen female saints can be traced. Bahinabai was the disciple of Tukaram, and she used to attend the sermons of Jayaram Swami at Kolhapur. She spent about 60 years in composing verses on the love of God and on high moral ideas.

Venubai was born at Miraj and passed her married life at Kolhapur. She became one of the greatest disciples of Ramdas and was appointed head of the monastery at Miraj. Her Sita-Svayamvar' is a work of a high order. She has her Samadhi at Sajjangad. Akka worked zealously for the cause for forty years after the saint's death. She built a great temple of Rama at Sajjangad. One Satibai was in charge of the Maruti temple at Shahapur. Bayabai, Ambabai, and Premabai, other disciples of Ramdas, were well-known as poetesses,[1] while Sakhabai, Rukminibai, Manabai, Gangabai, Godabai, etc. were also very devoted disciples of the Swami. Thus females were not only initiated in the Ramdasi cult, but they were made heads of maths to preach and propagate the principles of the new faith.

14. Muslim Saints— Even Muslims were so much inspired by the new spiritual atmosphere that they became worshippers of Vithal or Vishnu. Shekh Muhammad of Chambhargonda is one of those recluses. His Marathi works in poetry like Pavana Vijaya, Dnyanasagar, etc. possess a real merit. His followers observe the Ramzan and Ekadashi fasts up to this day. Shekh Sultan and Shekh Farid were the other Muslim saints of the period.

Bawa Yaqut of Kelshi near Janjira, a Muslim saint of repute,

1. S. K. Altekar, Shri Samartha Charitra, pp. 224-239.

was approached by the Raja for blessings to capture the fort of Rajapur.

15. Personal contact with Saints— Shivaji came into special contact with a few prominent saints. Mauni Bawa or 'the silent saint' of Maharashtra who had established himself at Patgaon near the formidable fort of Rangna in the inaccessible hills of the Sahyadri, was one of them. His fame for piety spread all over Maharashtra. Shivaji went to him to seek benediction for his success in the Karnatic expedition. This saint gave him an assurance of victory. Therefore on his return Shivaji made a donation of Rs. 400 per annum for distributing free meals to all visitors of the Math. It still continues under the patronage of the Kolhapur rulers.

Sitalpuri, a very pious Sanyasi of Benares, was invited and made his preceptor by Shivaji. He was allowed to stay at the holy town of Sangameshwar, afterwards famous for the capture of Sambhaji by the Moguls. He is named Achalpuri by Chitnis (78).

Parmanand Gosavi of Poladpur and Narain Ashram of Trimbakeshwar were highly honoured and served by Shivaji. Similarly, another Hindu saint Parmanand was also approached by Shivaji [1] for benedictions.

The famous Hindu poet Bhushan has earned a great reputation by writing stirring heroics on the Raja. He was along with his elder brother first in the service of Aurangzeb, but he left the latter in disdain and accepted the patronage of the Maratha ruler whom he immortalized in his 'Shiva Bhushan' and 'Shiva Bhavani.'

16. Encouragement of Sanskrit—An illiterate man could hardly have any love for the ancient and dead language of the Hindus. He would have patronized Marathi authors, but Shivaji gave special patronage to Sanskrit. A few works of the time have come down to us.

One celebrated Sanskrit poet Jayaram wrote the "Story of the Capture of Panhala Hill" describing the heroic exploits of Shivaji. He is also the author of the well-known historical novel entitled 'Radha-Madhav Vilas Champu.' This poet lived at the court of Shahji in the Karnatic.

1. 91 Q. B. Vakaskar, pp. 130–131. 2. Shri Samartha Ch., pp. 210, 410.

Paramanand was given the titles of the 'Lord of Poets' and 'Indra among poets' for his extraordinary poetic gifts. He was first patronized by Shahji in the Karnatic, and then by Shivaji in Maharashtra. He planned a historical Purana of 100 chapters on the life of Shivaji and his ancestors. Only 31 chapters are now available of this epic, and these bring the story of Shivaji's life up to 1660. The remaining chapters are not yet available. The poet was intimately connected with the court and politics of Shivaji's time. He accompanied or followed his master to Agra and was arrested by the Moguls in Dec. 1666. Nothing further is known of his life and work, but his sons and grandsons were gifted with poetic genius and these were patronized by the successors of Shivaji.

Gagabhat who was known as the Brahmadeva and Vyas of his age, wrote a historic poem entitled the "Rise of the Sun Shiva." It was a work on religious and social duties. Another work of his on polity called "Samayanaya" is traced by Aufrecht in the MSS. Library of Florence.

Krishna Jyotishi was entrusted with the work of correcting the Calendar, so that he wrote out 'Karna-Kaustubha.'

Tuka, a disciple of Brahmanand, used to live at Satara. This Sanskrit scholar translated Sanskrit works into Marathi.

Raghunath Hanamante wrote the 'Vyavahara Kosha' wherein the Persian and Arabic words then current in Muslim India were translated into Marathi and Sanskrit. All the words then current in political circles for administrative, legal, judicial, financial and military affairs have been rendered into Sanskrit or contemporary Marathi. It is indeed a most useful contribution. He also wrote a Marathi work on Nala and Damayanti.

Then **Govind Barve**, the author of "Shiva-Rajyabhisheka -Kalpataru" and the rival of Gagabhat, deserves a passing notice.

Even at the Tanjore court in the Karnatic there were contemporary scholars who wrote works in Sanskrit or Marathi.

Besides Raghunath Pandit, Madhav, Bhimaswami, Anand Tanaya, Anant, and Gosavi Nandan were well-known amongst them.[1]

This large number of saints purified the spiritual atmosphere of their time from 1640 to 1690 with their sublime writings and preachings. Besides these celebrities, there must have been a great many ordinary poets. All these produced a vast literature on a variety of subjects. An idea of their literary activity can be had from the fact that Dasopant's works cover two lakh couplets, while Ekanatha, Shivakalyan, Krishna Yadnyavalki contributed approximately sixty thousand couplets each.

17. Shivaji supplied the urge to reformation :— Mr. Justice E. Abbot has partially stated the truth by remarking that 'the light spreads all through that century; and it cannot be thought that Shivaji escaped from being touched by it, while seeking to carry out what he considered his life's work.'

Shivaji was not merely an on-looker or a passive subject to receive these religious and spiritual influences, but he was supplying the necessary urge by various means, so that the wonderful flowering of genius and outburst of spiritualism were mainly due to him. By starting the new department of religion under a minister he encouraged scholars and religious men to devote themselves to study and spiritual unfoldment. Hundreds of religious men were relieved of worldly cares by his munificent gifts. He gave five lakh pagodas to Keshav Swami at Hyderabad.[2] The holy men were protected, encouraged and enthused by the royal patron to carry on their religious propaganda free from Muslim persecution. There was a universal feeling of joy and pride in the country that a saviour of Hindu religion was born in the person of Shivaji. Numerous saintly persons devoted themselves to revive with unusual enthusiasm the dethroned and detested religion of the Hindus. Shivaji had consequently a very active share in quickening the twin movements of renaissance and reformation in Maharashtra.

1. Shri Samartha Ch., pp. 210, 429.
2. 21 Q. B. Vakaskar, p. 139.

18. The contribution of saints to Swaraj—Ekanatha, Tukaram, and their disciples form a long series of saints who boldly protested against the decline in Hinduism and passionately taught Bhakti or devotion to God as the source of a true religion. They encouraged Hindu unity by denouncing caste and Brahman ascendency, by creating racial pride, love for ancient heroes, a strong sentiment of the superiority of Hindu culture and religion, and by a detestation of foreign rule. The preparation of such a background by 1650 was of no small value to the cause of Swaraj. But a new spirit was infused by Ramdas who should be styled as the father of aggressive and victorious Hinduism. He was the founder of the new order known after him. He popularized the worship of Rama—the epic conqueror of Ravana, of Balabhim who may be said to be an incarnation of physical force, and of Maruti—Rama's devoted servant ever-ready to serve him at the risk of his own life. Victory, virility and service were the three principles of his new religion which was to save Hinduism from foreign tyrants. He inspired numerous disciples with this new cult, made them heads of Mathas or monasteries for the propagation of the creed, established new gods and built new temples.

He was first and foremost a saint devoted to mysticism, Vedanta, social and religious reforms. It was his Bhakti and saintly character which attracted thousands of men and women to him. Occasionally, during his talks, sermons and poems he gave harrowing accounts of the persecution of the Hindus, and thereby prepared the people for overthrowing the Muslim yoke and establishing their own kingdom instead. Rev. Deming has rightly remarked that "in this respect the teaching of Ramdas does differ from that of Tukaram and the other Bhaktas."

Ramdas was veritably a saint of unique originality, mystic vision and superhuman energy. By dint of saintly character and charming eloquence, he attempted to create among the people patriotic sentiments and a martial spirit to avenge the wrongs done by the alien rulers and to defend their own religion and country from the Mlechhas. The political propaganda was, however,

a secondary ideal. In summing up his mission, he has unequivocally stated that the foremost ideal was the exposition of God and the second object of the cult was the explanation of political policies.[1] Thus he was not merely a great mystic like Ekanatha or Tukaram, but an inspiring patriot of his time with a wonderful power of organization. The establishment of numerous mathas throughout the length and breadth of the country gives him a definitely distinctive role from the mystic saints preceding him. He taught to his followers that "political activities should be carried out secretly and carefully, and associations, wherever possible, should be organized upon a basis of equality."[2]

Rev. Deming has aptly observed that Ramdas entered heart and soul into the task of reviving the work of Shivaji in this regard and evidently approved of the secret political activities which helped to free Maharashtra from the Moslem yoke. The relation of Shivaji and Ramdas and their mutual influence upon each other have been discussed by several scholars. Here it will suffice to say that Shivaji used to pay respect to all saints. He came into personal contact with a few prominent Bhaktas, and Ramadas was one of them. During the last eight years of his life he was more in touch with this Swami than with any other saint. Hence he must have been influenced to some extent in his religious and political ideals by the advice of saint Ramdas.

19. Reformation begun in the 17th century— According to Justice Ranade the religious revival covers a period of nearly five hundred years, and during this period some fifty saints and prophets flourished in this land who left their indelible mark upon the country and its people.[3] This statement is not borne out by the facts presented in the preceding sections of this chapter. There was no continuity in the reformative movement. Mukundraj, the first famous writer of Marathi prose and poetry, is said to have lived in the beginning of the 13th century. Dnyandeva, his brothers

1. मुख्य हरिकथा निरूपण । दुसरे ते राजकारण.
2. Dasbodh, 19.9.
3. R. M. P., p. 146.

Nivritti and Sopan and his sister Muktabai, and even their disciple Changdev had expired by 1305 before the extinction of the Yadav Empire.

Namadeva, a tailor by caste, grew to be a great poet and saint. He popularized the abstruse and profound philosophy of Dnyandeva among the people for some years more. But literary and religious activity received a sudden check by the ascendancy of Islam in the Deccan. The three saints of the 15th and 16th century, Bhanudas, Narasinha and Janardan Swami, were not literary men. They were Bhaktas or devotees of Dattatreya or Vithoba. Even the Mahanubhavas began to write works in a cipher alphabet, so that these did not reach the masses. It is consequently evident that the period of about 250 years from the death of Namadeva to the rise of Ekanatha, was barren in literary activity. The religious movement too remained suppressed. The language of the Dnyaneshwari had become obscure and unintelligible to the people. Therefore Ekanatha wrote out a popular version of that famous poem. Sporadic efforts were made by some Bhaktas here and there to keep alive Hinduism, yet as a whole both literary and reformative movements remained suppressed up to the close of the 16th century. Renaissance and reformation took birth in the teachings of Ekanatha, his disciples and other contemporary poets. These were vigorously developed by the profuse writings and profound teachings of Tukaram and his numerous disciples up to the middle of the 17th century. In short, the movements had their real rise in the last quarter of the 16th century. Within a period of 75 years up to 1650 the lives and teachings of numerous saints brought about a new consciousness of Hindu unity, nationality and reform, and awakened a strong sentiment against Muslim oppression. Thus the ground for Swaraj was not being prepared for three cent
only for three-quarters of a century.

Secondly, merely fifty saints and poets did
a period of five hundred years, but more than
carried on the new light during the 17th cent
the era of Shivaji and Ramdas was specially

distinguished saints and poets. Their number was about one hundred and fifty. These flourished in all strata of the society and in different parts of Maharashtra. The birth of such an extraordinary number of poets and saints within one generation forms a phenomenon by itself. No other country of the world in that age can boast of such an extensive and intensive literary activity on social and spiritual topics. But it has been seen that the source of this remarkable energy is to be found in the simultaneous efforts of the Naked Messiah and the Political Prophet of Maharashtra. It is mainly they who created the new age of the renaissance and reformation in their own country.

CHAPTER XII

The Causes and Consequences of Shivaji's Success

1. Causes given by Ranade— Having studied the personality, administrative system and policies of the great king, we proceed to analyse the factors contributing to his success. A review of the main achievements with which the great conqueror illumined the pages of history will form a fitting epilogue of this work.

According to the late Justice Ranade the ground was "prepared partly by nature, partly by the ancient history of the country, partly by the religious revival, but chiefly by the long discipline in arms which the country had undergone under Mahomedan rule for three hundred years." [1] Each one of these causes requires an explanation.

2. The invincible Deccan— The first point to be noticed is the fact that Maharashtra enjoys natural advantages of position and climate which are denied to the people of the north.

It is a country of great natural strength. In particular the mountainous region of the Western Ghats bristles with hundreds of hills. These shoot aloft in steep and terrific cliffs and craggy summits which form natural fortresses. These bid defiance to the foot of man and horse. The prodigious and continuous rainfall, the steepness of the passes, the dense and pestitential atmosphere of the jungles, and the frequency of terrible thunderstorms made all warfare in such a district, during several months in each year, almost impossible. Grant Duff has truly remarked that 'in a military point of view there is probably no stronger country in the world than Maharashtra.' Col. Tone confirms the view by saying that a country so strongly situated is unconquerable. [2]

The heavy Mogul cavalry was useless in the Deccan, especially in the hilly portions which were thickly wooded. The Muslim

1. Ranade, Rise of the Maratha Power, p. 38.
2. Cf. Manucci, II, p. 230; Shivaji, Part III, pp. 182, 498.

infantry was afraid to move through such wild jungles, for they could be easily ambushed and cut down. The Maratha soldiers were expert mountaineers and they could easily climb precipitous hills, pass through inaccessible jungles, hide in the trees, live for days on Bajri bread and forest fruits. The Mogul forces were no match for such hardy people. Dr. Fryer, Khafi Khan, the Portuguese and contemporary writers have borne testimony to the fact that the precipitous and soaring hills favoured the success of Shivaji.

His strength lay in the everlasting hills, but he took care that their peaks and spurs were crowned with a multitude of forts. "He made these forts the terror of all India; the cradle of his nation; the basis of his conquests; the steps of his ambition, his home and his joy; many of them he built, all of them he strengthened." [1]

We must not exaggerate the importance of these physical features. The impregnability of forts and the inaccessibility of the mountainous regions could not help the Marathas against the English. Several empires have risen and died in the Deccan inspite of these physical advantages. Heroes like Shivaji took advantage of the physical strength of the country and founded empires, while their successors did not have the genius and nerve to maintain the same.

3. Next to the natural advantages, **the character of the people** and their institutions are said to have played an important role in the movement of Swaraj. The system of village communities and Panchayats coupled with the Ryotwari tenure of land held in full ownership by small peasant—proprietors maintained democratic tendencies in the people. They cultivated habits of mutual helpfulness and independence which had stood them to good account in past times. But it is ignored that these institutions were in existence for many centuries during which several empires saw the light of day and ceased to be. Consequently there is no inherent power in the institutions and habits to give independence and self-government to the people. The magic power of a Shivaji is needed to utilize these forces in the establishment of an independent kingdom.

1. Shivaji, Part IV, p. 79.

4. The third contributory factor was **the reformation movement.** We have already shown that the religious revival in Maharashtra really began from the 17th century, and became effective from about 1630, the time when Shahji led the movement of Swaraj. It gathered strength only under the inspiration and patronage of Shivaji. The Swadharma and Swaraj movements are inter-related, each contributing its strength to the other. The influence of the reformation should not be exaggerated.

5. **The dominance of the Hindu element** in the Muslim monarchies is represented to have formed a potent factor in the revolutionary movement. Thousands of Hindu officers were no doubt employed in the civil and military departments. There were numerous feudal lords and chieftains who could bring retainers for the service of the Sultan. But we should not forget that the Ghorpades, Mohites, Mores, Ghatges, Shirkes, Gujars, Dalvis, Savants, and a host of other Hindu chiefs were opposed to the revolutionary Shivaji. They were faithful to the Bijapur government and were naturally afraid of the loss of their estates and offices by the failure of the revolution. The Hindu gentry was not a source of strength but of weakness and opposition to Shivaji. He conquered them one by one, and thus by force of arms brought them under his sway. A few families were won over by his conciliatory policy and marital connections. Nothing succeeds like success. His wonderful exploits must have ultimately drawn thousands of warriors and officers, but in the beginning of his career he had to face strong opposition from the Hindu lords and chiefs.

6. **Other causes**— The main causes of the rise and progress of Shivaji may be said to be (1) misgovernment in the Adil Shahi state, (2) continuous wars, the financial drain, and internal weakness of this Deccan kingdom, (3) the incompetence and corruptibility of Muslim officers, and (4) the conquest of its sea-ports by the Marathas. (5) Guerilla tactics and the lightning speed of the Maratha armies were the most potent causes of the hero's success. (6) Above all, there was the remarkable personality

of the adventurer exploiting every weakness of the enemy. Each one of these factors will be briefly explained hereafter.

7. **Misgovernment in the Bijapur kingdom**—The Dutch from Wingurla write that the government of this country is so unsettled and tyrannous that it is impossible to commit it to paper.[1]

On other occasion it is remarked that 'the feudal system gave rise to abuse, extortion and grinding down of the population.'[2] Tyranny, oppression and corruption of lords, governors and officials inflicted untold miseries on the people. Their suffering was deepened by the frequent plundering and devastation caused by constant wars with Shivaji and the Moguls. Both had to be given tributes and contributions. This economic drain depleted the state-treasure and bled the people white by oppressive taxes.

8. **Venality of officers**— Shivaji clearly observed that every man had his price. He lavishly squandered wealth in corrupting the greatest generals and highest officials of the Bijapur and Mogul Empires. How Raja Jaswant Singh was won over with rich presents, has been humorously expressed by Da Guarda. "With these marvellous cannons Sevagy fought and reduced that fortress."

The incompetence and venality of the Mogul and Bijapur generals were frequently noticed by the contemporary writers. The unequivocal evidence of the Bombay Council deserves notice. "Bahadur Khan, the king's foster brother who remayned in Deccan many years, attending Sevajee's motions, but effected little materially against him, by reason of being corrupted by him, feeding frequently his most insatiable avarice with gold."[3]

"They lie effiminately at house fearful of wetting their tender skinns, our Maharajah plays his game soe wisely as to destroy, robb, plunder, devastate and ruine the major and best part of their kingdom."[4]

9. **Shivaji's conquest of the sea-ports** in the Konkan deprived the Bijapur Kingdom of the benefits of the sea-borne trade, and

1-2. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 554, 508.
3-4. Shivaji, Part III, pp. 180, 198, 322, 77.

specially stopped the coming of the Arabian steeds which were the life of its cavalry. Only a distant town Porto Novo beyond Tuticorin was left to Bijapur for the import of horses, but even this place was captured by the Marathas during the Karnatic expedition. Thus an irreparable damage was inflicted upon the military strength of the Adil Shahi kingdom.

10. Guerilla tactics— Shivaji and his generals were past masters in the art of guerilla warfare which stupified and scattered the veteran armies of his implacable enemies, the Moguls. We have already given Da Guarda's graphic picture of the ambuscades and sufferings to which the cumbrous army of Shaista Khan was subjected by the Maratha cavalry. [1]

Lane Pool, a distinguished historian of the Muslim rule in India, has vividly described the lightning forages and dare-devil manoeuvres of the Marathas. "To fight such people was to do battle with air or to strike blows upon water; like wind or waves they scattered and bent before the blows only to close in again the moment the pressure was taken off. They would dash down from their mountain retreats and intercept a rich convoy of treasure; and before the Moguls could get near them, they were back in their rocky forts. Even if pursued to their layer and smoked out, so to speak, they only went to some equally convenient and almost inaccessible stronghold to resume their usual trade of plunder, in which they took unfeigned delight. Each man fought and trapped and pillaged in the same common cause—the national war against Muhammadan alliance — and their separate efforts produced a sufficiently alarming collective result. They were consequently popular enough with the country-folk, who regarded them as national heroes and their defenders against the inroads of the infidels and were always eager to keep them informed of the movements of the enemy and to warn them of any approaching danger." [2]

1. Shivaji, Part II, p. 77.
2. Lane Pool, Aurangzeb, 174.

Sir E. Sullivan has declared that the Mavalis were for all purposes of predatory and guerilla warfare, the most excellent infantry in the world.[1]

11. **Marathas were winged men**— The lightning speed with which the light Maratha cavalry and infantry moved, and the guerilla tactics made the Maratha soldiers a terror to the Muslim armies. "So severe a terror he strikes into the people, that every three or four days his very name brings an anguish fever on them."

The Bombay Council record in 1677 that Shivaji continues victorious even to a miracle in waging war with the potent kings of Hindustan and Deccan.

The Dutch observe that "he continues robbing and looting wherever he comes as usual to the perdition of many of the unlucky inhabitants, neither the Mogul nor the Visiapur king being able to tame him. Sivasi's actions are of a marvellous insight and rather difficult to be traced."

12. **Shivaji not less than Alexander or Hannibal**—The Maratha soldiers were called 'birds' by their inspiring master. The agility s w inged men was incredible in those days. 'Shivaji was not less dexterous than Alexander the Great. He was a second Sertorius and came not short of Hanniball for stratagems.'

'He rushed forth like lightning between the two armies and without their knowledge went away to Surat.'

The French Governor of Pondichery wrote that like a thunderbolt Shivaji fell upon the citadel of Jingi.

The Portuguese described him as the Atila of India. "It is the cunning, determination and bravery of this new Atila of India that he not only maintains a defensive but an offensive war..... plundering and burning all wherever he goes."[2]

13. **Shivaji had an airy body**— Even in 1664 Shivaji is said to possess an airy body by Oxinden. "Shivaji is so famously infamous for his notorious thefts that report hath *made him an airy body*

1. Conquerors, etc. P. 369.
2. Shivaji. Part III, pp. 99, 158, 239, [illegible]

and added wings; or else it were impossible he could be at so many places as he is said to be at, all at one time. Sometimes he is certainly believed to be in one, and in a day or two in another place, and so in half a dozen remote one from another; and there burns and plunder, all without control. That they ascribe to him to perform more than a Herculian labour; that he is become the talks of all conditions of people."

Once more the people wonder at the incredible speed of his armies. Shivaji 'reigns victoriously and uncontrolled, that he is a terror to all the kings and princes round about, daily encreasing in strength. For he is very nimble and active, imposing strange labour upon himself that he may endure hardship; and also exercises his chiefest men, that he flies to and fro with incredible dexterity.'[1]

Here is Da Guarda's testimony. "There grew the firm belief that Sevagy was everywhere. He often sent expeditions to different places at the same time and in all of them he was convoked and he was in command. The question is still unsolved whether he substituted others for himself or (whether) he was a magician or the devil acted in his place."[2]

Abbe Carré's evidence is no less interesting. 'This conqueror has all the virtues of a great general and an extreme activity which almost always decides the affairs of war; hardly had he gained a battle or taken a city at one end of the kingdom, when he was at the other extremity, making havoc everywhere and surprising the important places.' Therefore the writer styles him as 'one of the greatest warriors that the East has seen since a long time, and who, for his courage, the rapidity of his conquests and his great qualities, does not badly resemble the great Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus.'[3]

Sullivan has aptly concluded that 'the fabulous speed of his midnight marches and his sudden appearance in far off districts, before his absence from home was even suspected, read almost like

1. Shivaji, Part II, pp. 102, 105.
2. Sen, F. Biographies, p. 10. 3. Historical Misc., pp. 35, 46.

14. Survey of conquests— How far the superhuman qualities of this unique personality were responsible for creating a kingdom, will be evident from a brief survey of his conquests. His political career can be divided into five periods :—

The first period from 1645 to 1655 of Silent Revolution.
„ second „ „ 1656 to 1658 of Open Rebellion.
„ third „ „ 1659 to 1668 of Defensive and offensive wars.
„ fourth „ „ 1669 to 1674 of Conquests by the Uncrowned King.
„ fifth „ „ 1675 to 1680 of Conquest and Consolidation by the Crowned King.

15. A silent revolution which was afterwards to convulse all India, began unnoticed in the bosom of the Poona hills. The ideal of the Hindwi Swaraj was cherished by the young dreamer Shivraj who without shedding any blood captured the important forts of Torna, Rohida, Kondana, and Purandar. He succeeded in releasing his father Shahji by the display of valour and diplomacy, and then engaged himself in strengthening and training an invincible army. Thus the foundations of the Maratha kingdom were unostentatiously laid by Shivaji with remarkable diplomacy, intrepidity and versatility to avoid the wrath and vengeance of the Bijapur Sultan.

16. Open Rebellion— While Muhammad Adil Shah was lying on his death-bed, and his armies and generals were engaged in the Karnatic expeditions, Shivaji undertook the conquest of Javli in Jan. 1656. Within eight months he was master of the whole mountainous territory from Mahableshwar to Mahad with the important forts of Javli and Rairi. No Bijapuri army helped the Mores or proceeded to punish Shivaji. After Muhammad's death the throne of Bijapur was occupied by Ali of obscure origin. The Moguls, taking advantage of the new situation, declared war against him. Aurangzeb captured Bidar and Kaliani within a few months. The Sultan submitted to the inevitable and made peace with Shah Jahan in Aug. 1657.

The illness of the Mogul Emperor radically changed the situation in the Deccan. The Bijapuri army began to harass the

the Moguls and refused to cede Parenda. The operations of war continued up to January 1658. Aurangzeb was busy in collecting troops for his march to the north. Shivaji saw an opportunity to conquer the whole mountainous territory from Poona to Thana. Kalyan-Bhiwandi, Lohgad, Rajmachi and even Mahuli were captured by the Maratha forces within three months without any opposition. The Bijapur king and the Moguls could do nothing to prevent the cession of such extensive territories containing important towns and formidable forts. Here ends the second period of the political career of Shivaji. During these three years he succeeded in enlarging his jagir of Poona into a petty kingdom covering territory from Purandar and Mahableshwar to Supa, Chakan and thence to Kalyan, Tala, Ghosala and Mahad along the sea coast. Further south he got possession of Chaul and brought the Savants of Wadi under his suzerainty.

17. Defensive and offensive wars— During the next period romantic successes shed glory upon Shivaji and brought him an undying reputation. The murder of Afzal, the defeats of Rustam Zaman and Fazal Khan, the marvellous escape from Panhala and the heroic defence of the pass of Khelna, and the capture of several port towns in the Konkan compelled the Bijapur king to come to terms with the Maratha conqueror. The discomfiture of Shaista, the rape of Surat, and the retreat of the famous Rathore Raja Jaswant from Kondana dealt mortal blows upon the prestige and power of the Mogul emperor. Shivaji's submission to Jaisingh by the cession of 23 forts, his introduction to Aurangzeb in the gorgeous Hall of Audience at Agra, his wonderful escape through the Muslim guards, his miraculous journey through the Mogul Empire to his capital Rajgad brought him into the lime-light of Indian history. Aurangzeb again planned a new policy of capturing Shivaji and his chief officers through conciliation and friendship. He conferred the title of Raja upon him, granted the rank of 5,000 horse to his son Sambhaji and a jagir to meet its expenses. After some time he ordered the detention of the chief officers of the Maratha army, but these too got out of his clutches.

He advised his son Muazzam to feign rebellion and invite Shivaji to join him during his march to Agra, but the wary Maratha leader refused to personally meet the Prince, so that even this secret plot came to nothing. Then the Great Mogul began his policy of persecuting the Hindus. Shivaji could not tolerate the treachery and religious intolerance of the 'Ornament of the Peacock Throne,' and therefore declared war upon him. Thus ended the third period during which a rebellious chieftain successfully measured swords with the powerful kingdom of Bijapur and the richest empire in Asia.

During this period Shivaji stood forth as the defender of the Hindu religion. He carried fire and sword into the Portuguese territory since they did not desist from proselytizing Hindus. He conquered and annexed the district of Bardes from the already shrivelled-up kingdom of Goa and enriched himself by an immense loot amounting to 1½ crores of gold Hons.

18. Conquests by the uncrowned king—The fourth period covers only six years, but it was full of wars against the Moguls, the Bijapuris and the Siddis. The Marathas captured all the forts which they had ceded to the Mogul in 1665. The capture of Sinhgad, Panhala and Purandar from the Mogul armies has produced thrilling romances of extraordinary interest. The consummate generals and veteran Mogul soldiers were defeated in pitched battles. They could not prevent the lightning raids of the Maratha horse, nor could they equal their guerilla tactics. Rich cities, like Surat, Chhapra, Karanja, Hubli and some Konkan towns, were thoroughly sacked. During this period Shivaji was not fighting a defensive war, but led plundering and conquering expeditions into the Mogul territory on one side and the Bijapur kingdom on the other. He emerged triumphant from these wars and felt justified in getting himself crowned with the consent of the nobility and the blessings of the Brahmans of Maharashtra.

19. Conquest and consolidation—The crowned king first devoted himself mainly to the consolidation, organization and reform of the kingdom. Then his genius evolved a scheme of

conquest which placed him in the rank of the greatest conquerors of antiquity and modern times. The Bijapur kingdom was torn up by the factions of the Deccani and foreign nobility. Shiva immediately took advantage of this mortal weakness by conquering the Karnatic and the south of India which formed part of the old Vijayanagar Empire, but was now either under Bijapur or independent Hindu kings. Within the short period of less than two years he was master of the major part of the defunct Vijayanagar Empire. Thus his kingdom extended from the Western to the Eastern sea and from Nasik to Rameshwaram. Contemporary writers being dazzled by these quick and easy conquests, compared him to Sertorius, Caesar, Hannibal, Alexander, Adolphus. He could be favourably compared to Muhmud, Changiz, Timur, Babur and Napoleon. There was not a single general, statesman, or diplomat equal to him either in the Bijapuri service or in the Mogul Empire of his time. He spent thirty-five years in desparately struggling against overwhelming odds, and finally succeeded in carving out a kingdom which has survived to this day in India.

20. Now we can not be oblivious of the vital contribution made by the extraordinary personality of Shivaji to his success. The main factors have been explained by us in Chapter I. Summing up these in a passionate passage Justice Ranade rightly concluded that with the help of these wonderful qualities the Maratha hero could immortalize his name in Indian history. "Religious fervour, almost at white heat, bordering on the verge of self-abnegation, a daring and adventurous spirit born of a confidence that a higher power than man's protected him and his work, the magnetism of superior genius, which binds men together and leads them to victory, a rare insight into the real needs of the times, and a steadfastness of purpose, which no adverse turn of fortune could conquer, a readiness and resourcefulness rarely met with either in European or Indian history, true patriotism, which was far in advance of the times and a sense of justice tempered with mercy, these were the sources of the seeds of a power which

accomplished in the hands of his successors all that he had planned out, and enabled his race to write a chapter in Indian history to some purpose."[1]

Sir E. Sullivan has also laid great emphasis on the remarkable qualities of the hero. "Shivaji is certainly one of the greatest princes of Hindu history; he revived the ancient glory of a race, that centuries of subjection had tended to debase; and during the very height and power of the Mogul dynasty he founded and raised to empire the most powerful native kingdom yet seen in Hindusthan. He possessed every quality requisite for success in the disturbed age in which he lived."

21. Shivaji's achievements—These may be considered as the main causes of his success in founding the Maratha kingdom. We will now turn to summarize his memorable achievements which have already been sketched in detail in the previous parts. Here we will bring them to a focus to take a clear view of exhibiting the greatness of Shivaji. These were not mere emblems of his glory, but were directly or indirectly contributory to his success.

(1) In his early career Shivaji had clearly realized that the revival of the Hindu religion against the onslaughts of Muslims would make the strongest appeal to the masses in Maharashtra. He soon succeeded in magnetizing the people with the crusading spirit, so that thousands flocked to his banners to avenge the oppressions of centuries. (2) He stood forth as the champion of the Hindu faith, and the protector of cows, Brahmans, and gods. Whenever his co-religionists were persecuted and oppressed by the Moguls, the Siddis, or the Portuguese, he declared war upon them and carried fire and sword into their territories to wreak vengeance for their repressive acts. Thereby all Muslim and Christain powers were effectively restrained in their persecuting and proselytizing zeal. Moreover, he not only checked the outflow from Hinduism, but brought back the apostates into the Hindu fold through Shuddhi or reclamation. He patronized thousands of Brahmans, scholars, educational institutions, and

1. Ranade, Rise of the Maratha Power, pp. 57-58.

monasteries. Thus learning and literature were encouraged in various ways. Protection, propagation and unification of the Hindu religion in Maharashtra were due to him. He and his successors stemmed the tide of conversion and persecution by Aurangzeb by keeping him and his armies engaged in the south from the year of his accession to the day of his death. (3) His mystic trances, his deep reverence for saints, his liberal donations, his pilgrimages, his religious fervour in private devotions and public ceremonies made him dear to the people. They looked upon him as an incarnation of God born to liberate them from the foreign yoke. 'Such a belief was the chief source of his strength and his hold on the people, and it represented a strength which no prudent calculation of chances could ever confer.' [1]

The confirmatory evidence of Elphinstone is worth reading. "It required a genius like his to avail himself as he did of the mistakes of Aurangzeb, by kindling a zeal for religion, and through that, a national spirit among the Marathas. It was by these feelings that his government was upheld after it had passed into feeble hands, and was kept together, in spite of numerous internal disorders, until it had established its supremacy over the greater part of India."

Owen has very aptly expressed the same fact. "A halo of heroism, patriotism, and religious zeal invested their proceedings, and induced them to regard the son of Shahaji as a predestined, divinely favoured, indeed as an inspired deliverer. On the whole, both Shivaji and his original followers might well hold, and did hold, that in waging war after their own fashion with the Mussalmans they were doing both God and man good service, covering themselves with glory, and gaining not only welcome, but creditably retributive spoils." [2]

(4) In spite of his intense love for Hinduism, he followed the noble policy of toleration in an age when it was being trampled under foot by Muslim rulers and by European monarchs. "He

1. Rise of the M. Power, p. 53.
2. India on the Eve of British Conquest, S. J. Owen, pp. 129-30.

scorned to retaliate on the Muslims the cruel persecution which they had inflicted on the followers of his faith." [1] Consequently, he stands out as one of the greatest nation-builders.

(5) He was the destroyer of the feudal system and the founder of the national state. He consolidated the kingdom by putting down the feudal nobles by partially depriving them of their powers and incomes, and by razing down their castles.

(6) He was the creator of an invincible national army, and the father of the Maratha navy. He encouraged maritime commerce by various means.

(7) He reformed the administrative system by creating a cabinet and allotting various departments to the eight ministers. His administrative, financial, revenue, military reforms place him in the rank of the greatest statesmen. He quickened the pace of the reformation and renaissance through his inspiration and generous patronage.

(8) His foreign policy compels admiration. (a) He maintained friendly relations with the European nations for the defence of his navy and merchant-shipping, for the protection of his coast, for encouraging maritime trade, and for obtaining war-materials. (b) He was extremely far-sighted in his policy towards the two Muslim states of the Deccan. He protected them from the inroads of the Mogul by invading the imperial territory, and often rendered military assistance to the Deccan rulers whenever they were threatened by the Moguls. Thus the latter were unable to conquer either the Muslim states or the newly created Maratha kingdom on account of his military power, foresight and diplomacy.

(9) He was the introducer of the Chauth system which later on became so universal as an indication of Maratha supremacy. This blackmail collected by the Maratha officers and troops from the people at the point of the lance established an *imperium in imperio* in the Mogul provinces. The people were doubly oppressed

1. Sullivan, Conquerors, etc., p. 186.

and they lived in constant fear of destruction of their crops and devastation of their towns and villages by the Maratha looters. Thus this system struck a mortal blow at the allegiance of the Mogul subjects and the integrity of the empire.

(10) Shivaji was highly religious, devotional to the point of renunciation, stoically simple, reverential to Brahmans, saints and scholars. He was free from all the vices of wealth and power. He was a most devoted son, a loving husband, a compassionate father and a benevolent brother. He was not only chivalrous to women, but championed their honour throughout his life. In short, his piety, benevolence and wisdom captivated the hearts of all. Mr. Kincaid has emphasized the nobility of his personal character as the main cause of his signal success.

"Such was the "Liberator" of the Maratha nation a man of talents so varied, of life so regular, of disposition so tolerant, that it is little wonder that his countrymen came to regard him not as one of themselves but as the incarnation of God. His kingdom has long passed away; but the Maratha people still worship his image at Rajgad and Malwan; just as the Athenians, long after their empire had ceased to exist, continued to worship with pathetic devotion the memory of Theseus."[1]

(11) He had a charming personality which compelled admiration and devotion of all those who came into his magnetic circle, so that they were ever ready to sacrifice their lives for him and his sacred cause. The magic of his personality is excellently proved by the fact that not a single officer or general betrayed him. His men could not be corrupted by the wily Aurangzeb, while the Maratha hero was constantly corrupting the Mogul generals. Even when Shivaji and his son were prisoners at Agra or when he was absent for more than a year in the Karnatic, there was not a single person who turned traitor to the country.

(12) He so consolidated the kingdom and infused such an ary spirit among his officials that even after his death

1. A History of the Maratha People by Kincaid and Parasnis, Vol. I, p. 277.

they could successfully defy the monstrous efforts of Aurangzeb, the greatest monarch of his time on earth, during the twenty years' war of liberation. He awakened such a patriotic spirit and created such a deep sense of splendid unity among the people that with leonine courage and grim determination they took up the great challenge to their independence, a challenge embodied in the ghastly tangible reality of the vast Mogul armies, continuously pouring into Maharashtra for twenty years, and fighting under the personal guidance of the mighty Emperor himself. Hundreds of consummate commanders, brilliant statesmen, master politicians, undaunted soldiers trained in the school of Shivaji foiled all the Herculean efforts of the Great Mogul by such deeds of heroism, sacrifice, loyalty, political sagacity, patriotism as are scarcely equalled in the annals of the world. They emerged triumphant from this titanic struggle, and shook the majestic fabric of the extensive empire of the Great Mogul to its very foundations.

(13) His greatness lies in creating a new Hindu kingdom against innumerable odds. From the fall of the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Hindus of Maharashtra had been under Muslim domination for three hundred years. The foreign rule became more and more deeply rooted, and threatened to swallow the whole of the Southern Peninsula by the disintegration of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar. The Hindus of the Deccan made no efforts for three centuries to throw off the Muslim yoke. In Northern India several Hindu kingdoms survived in Rajputana, but all of them had become vassals of the Delhi Empire. Even the Solar Dynasty of Udaipur bowed to the inevitable and accepted the suzerainty of the Great Mogul. The large resources of Jodhpur, Jaipur and many other Rajput states were utilized in subjugating the Deccan, in destroying Shivaji, and in swallowing the Muslim states. Thus the Maratha rebel had no predecessor to show him an example of an independent kingdom, nor had he any assistance from the Hindu rulers of the day. On the contrary, every important Hindu ruler of southern and northern India was allied with his enemies to crush him. Under such adverse conditions

the creation of Hindu Swaraj appeared to be an extraordinary feat of a superhuman genius. "His native genius, alone and unaided, enabled him to found a compact kingdom, an invincible army, and a grand and beneficent system of administration." [1] The Hindus naturally looked upon this founder of the Maratha empire, the restorer of their religion, the defender of their ancient culture as a superman, or an incarnation of God.

Many heroes are deified and paid divine honours after their death, but here was a man who in his lifetime was looked upon by his people as God incarnate. The Sabhasad Chronicle, written only ten years after his death, may be considered to be contemporary. The evidence of Tukaram and Ramdas is concerned with the threshold of his career. The saints propagated this belief among the masses to help the national movement of Swaraj and Swadharma. No one can doubt the crucial importance of the saintly assertions to deify Shivaji in his early career. The young rebel must have captured the imagination of the saints and the masses with his noble ideals of freeing Maharashtra from the foreign yoke and of relieving the Hindu religion from Muslim oppression.

Shivaji, the liberator of Maharashtra from the Muslim rule, the deliverer of the Hindus from the oppressions of their rulers, the saviour of the Hindu religion, the apostle of religious freedom, the founder of the Maratha kingdom, the successor of the Vijayanagar Emperors, the father of the Maratha navy, the creator of reformation in the Deccan, has rightly been the idol of every Hindu home. This political prophet, this grand rebel against Mogul domination, this lion of Maharashtra, this creator of Indian nationalism, this pole-star of India's freedom will for ever remain a source of inspiration to all. Such a remarkable personality does not belong to any one nation and time. He occupies a high place in the galaxy of the great conquerors of the world, of remarkable nation-builders, of the greatest patriots, and of the immortal fighters for the independence of their mother-lands.

1. Sarkar, Shivaji, p. 405.

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